



## Massive Attack on Minnehaha

BY ASPEN, SPINEY AND TUMBLEWEED

Just after 4 a.m. on December 20, over 600 police officers descended on our happy home. Code named "Operation Coldsnap," the raid on the Minnehaha Free State was the largest show of police force in Minnesota history. Seven buildings in the path of the proposed reroute of Highway 55 in southeastern Minneapolis had been occupied by activists since August. The raid resulted in 37 arrests and was followed

like gel was applied directly to their eyes. Activists locked down and in handcuffs were beaten and maced. One activist's nose was broken by an officer performing a pain compliance hold. The ceremonies of the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota were brutally cut short and sacred items destroyed. Once in jail, the detainees were denied medical attention and held incommunicado in solitary confinement for nearly 48 hours.

After a week of rumors, the raid came with a few hours warning. Our roving security team spotted a two-mile-long column of cars, trucks and buses entering a hangar at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport, one mile south of the site. Our whistles blew as Ryder trucks pulled up in front of each house, disgorging masked, black-clad police wielding rifles and battering rams. It was immediately apparent the authorities knew right where each and every



Activists and supporters gathered for an emergency response rally following the Minnehaha raid

by the fastest demolition job the city has ever seen. All of the houses were completely bulldozed and the foundations were filled in by daybreak. By mid-afternoon, after a light snow had fallen over the encampment, it looked like the occupation had never existed.

In addition to excessive numbers, police also used excessive force, confronting nonviolent protesters with laser-sighted automatic weapons and torturing them with pepper spray and tear gas. In some cases, an unknown pepper-spray

barricaded site and lock-down was, despite some having been built only two weeks prior. Police filled entire houses with tear gas, choking and nauseating the protesters whose arms were locked into barrels. Many unlocked voluntarily, only to be pepper-sprayed while trying to make their way out. Police also tipped over a tripod while a sitter was still on top and maced a man who was sitting on a roof.

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## Operation "Cremate Monsanto"

BY PROFESSOR NANJUNDASWAMY,  
KARNATAKA STATE FARMERS ASSOCIATION

"Dear friends, Monsanto's field trials in Karnataka will be reduced to ashes, starting on Saturday."

On November 26, two days after the Indian Minister of Agriculture disclosed the location of three fields where genetically modified cotton was being grown, the Karnataka State Farmers Association (KRRS) announced its plans to burn the fields.

On November 28, thousands of farmers occupied and burned down the three fields in front of TV cameras in an open act of civil disobedience. These actions were the start of a direct action campaign by farmers against biotechnology, called Operation Cremation Monsanto, which will not stop until all corporate killers like Monsanto, Novartis and Pioneer leave India.

The campaign will run under the following slogans: stop genetic engineering, no patents on life, cremate Monsanto and bury the World Trade Organization. There is also a more specific message directed at all those who have invested in Monsanto: You should take your money out before we reduce it to ashes.

These kinds of actions have the potential not only to kick the corpo-



Farmers fight back in India, flaming genetically modified cotton

rate killers out of our country but also pose a major challenge to their survival in the stock markets. Who wants to invest in a mountain of ashes or in offices that are constantly being squatted (and if necessary even destroyed) by activists? For these reasons, we are making an international call for direct action against Monsanto and the rest of the biotech gang. Stopping biotechnology in India will not be of much help if it

continues in other countries. The threat that it poses does not stop at the borders.

This call for action will hopefully inspire all the people who are already doing brilliant work against biotechnology and those who have not been active to join hands in a quick, effective worldwide effort. This is a very opportune moment to target Monsanto for its megalomaniacal attempt to monopolize the life indus-

## THE POLITICS OF PROTEST

BY ROD CORONADO

After hearing the news of David "Gypsy" Chain's death in Headwaters forest this September, I was hungry for information about this tragedy. All I found was two sentences in *USA Today*, a paragraph on the last page of the *New York Times* and nothing on any of the major television networks.

This was in sharp contrast to the reports that accompany violent attacks on the US government, its citizens or economic interests here or abroad by supposed "terrorists." Why then is it that the terrorist-like actions of corporations like Maxxam/Pacific Lumber (PL), including the murder of a young American non-violent protester, are largely ignored by the mainstream media?

Media censorship and misinformation help absolve corporations of responsibility for atrocities like David's murder and the destruction of the last great ancient forests. Media bias is one of the largest obstacles the Earth First! movement must overcome, for the terrorist actions of Maxxam/PL that culminated in David's murder are only the latest shots across the bow of our nonviolent resistance.

David's death demonstrates that society's concern for preventing violence does not extend to the Earth and those protecting her.

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try. It is now going through a hard time of layoffs and restructuring in a desperate effort to survive.

It is also a good time to target Monsanto because recent scandals have contributed to its profile as a corporate killer, as if creating Agent Orange and bovine growth hormone weren't enough.

We are calling only for nonviolent direct actions. Nonviolence in this context means that we should respect all (non-genetically modified) living beings, including police officers and the people who work for these transnational corporations.

The campaign should proceed in a decentralized manner, and nobody should speak on behalf of other people involved in the campaign without their consent. However, people are welcome to report about the actions of others without pretending to represent them.

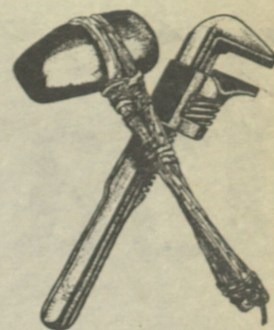
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# EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH

POB 1415 • EUGENE, OREGON 97440 • (541) 344-8004



## Sod the Politically Tame Tossers

It's a large and beautiful world and one I believe worth fighting for.

So this is America, home of the brave, land of the free. When I told people back in the UK I was off to do my thing at the *Earth First! Journal* quite a few warned me it's not like home. In the US, they said, Earth First! is not into radical politics. As I'd only been released from prison a few months earlier (after being convicted on trumped up charges stemming from my work with the *Green Anarchist* paper), the crew at home said our kin in the US would not have a clue where I was coming from.

I did find out that the folks here don't understand me—not because of my politics but due to my weird UK accent and use of English slang. Well, actually there is a lack of understanding about how things are in the UK. We don't have old growth where I live. It was probably cut down and used to fight the French or something.

After traveling across Canada for a while, I came to the *Journal* office and walked into something I was not expecting. Recently, some people back home had called the *EF! Journal* "politically tame," but events in North America had recently taken a strange turn—a turn that's is bound to transform *EF!*'s "politically tame" status in some people's minds. I discovered that after the ELF (or whoever) burnt Vail, there were Earth First!ers prepared to stand up to considerable pressure, stick their necks out and talk about the radical ideas they really believe in.

Earth First!, like the entire ecological resistance movement, is a broad church. Ideas span a very wide spectrum, from the love-your-enemy attitude of Julia "Butterfly" Hill (a very interesting person, who doesn't call herself an Earth First!er because she only wants to be herself) to Earth First!ers who really do support the Vail action. Perhaps it's time to realize that, as we wish for diversity in nature, so should we accept it in our own movement. There is not one path to the creation of a society in harmony with nature, but many. We each must walk the one we feel most comfortable with.

We had this debate in the UK in 1992. Earth First! in the UK started with a civil disobedience outfit (with the lock-ons and digger diving that characterized the very early anti-roads movement) working alongside those who preferred the monkeywrenching tactics of Dave Foreman, Ed Abbey, the very active Animal Liberation Front and the anti-NATO activists in Holland. We all coexisted happily. Hell, at a bridge occupation by *EF!* during a Twyford Down action in '93, the ELF burnt a Cat earth mover. There was no fallout because we had the same enemy, some just chose different

tactics. The UK scene is something people should maybe have a look at. Though not perfect by any means, we know we all have our part to play and understand there are different opinions.

Here at the *Journal*, they try their best to do what needs to be done, and it's not that easy and it's not that fun, as you just can't please everyone. Personally, I don't think you can bury your head in the sand. You have to stand up and be counted. Everyone should do their best to put things right, isn't that's what direct action is all about? If you don't like what goes into the *Journal*, may I suggest that you short-term so you can see for yourself what has to be dealt with on a daily basis. Then you will understand how much hard work goes into it all. For the *journalistas* there is very little reward and hardly ever any thanks. Next time before you phone the *Journal* or write something bad, maybe you should put yourselves in our shoes for a moment and think about it.

We all have things we can do, and we all need support. It's always easy to catcall from the audience, but it's a very different thing to be on the stage. The point is, as the French would say, "Viva la difference!" We have a hard enough fight to win without falling out amongst ourselves.

In defence of our Earth,

—SAXON

### In Memoriam

Adriane Michelle Miller, 27, a longtime Earth First! activist was killed in an automobile collision in December. Adriane was a founding member of the Propagaia environmental theater troupe of Eugene, Oregon. She was a friend to the people of Senegal and helped raise humanitarian relief for that country. She will be missed by her friends and fellow activists.

Tucson *EF!*er Sean Burlew, 27, was killed in a collision with a drunk driver in November. Sean was a gardener for Native Seeds/Search, which works to preserve the genetic diversity of native plants. Sean also spent long hours helping to get Mexican gray wolves reintroduced in the Southwest and on issues ranging from preventing logging in the Grand Canyon to keeping telescopes off Mount Graham. Sean was a good friend and a compassionate lover of the wild. We'll miss you Sean.

## Fauna Cabala

©

Lurking behind the innocent female orgasm is yet another evolutionary strategy that allows her to be choosy. In human females, masturbatory orgasms are traditionally thought to be substitutes for copulatory ones or a training method for orgasm during sex. There is evidence, however, that in humans the propensity for sexual climax increases with a male's salary and status, and in other primates, such as Chacma baboons and Japanese macaques, orgasms are more frequent when low-ranking females mate with high-ranking males. This indicates that there's likely a lot more to it than simply pleasure or training.

Orgasm forces the contents of the upper vagina (seminal fluid, sperm and/or acidic vaginal fluids) into the cervix and its sperm storage areas, called crypts. Masturbatory orgasms decrease the pH of the cervical mucus, creating a hostile environment for sperm. Such acidity kills or immobilizes sperm that try to get into the cervical crypts, promotes a build-up of debris in the cervical channel and decreases sperm retention at the next copulation. Copulatory orgasms that occur one minute before to 45 minutes after male ejaculation cause females to retain the most sperm. Such a high retention orgasm gives sperm access to the crypts and clears the cervical channel. Thus, masturbation, copulation

without climax and copulatory orgasms without timely male ejaculation all decrease sperm uptake at the next copulation yet they can all be overridden by a high up! ke orgasm.

It hints to a female strategy (which, as with all behavioral products of our evolutionary past, is not conscious or infallible). It's been found that when human females switch from monoandry to polyandry they decrease retention of their original partners' sperm while increasing that of other males. This is done by increasing the frequency of masturbatory orgasms and varying the timing of copulatory ones. This stimulating discovery fits in well with the theme of keeping reproductive status secret from males, which must have been favored by natural selection in our evolutionary past (perhaps it kept males around, solicited protection and resources from multiple males or decreased infanticide by confusing paternity). Female humans, unlike other primates, have a very cryptic reproductive cycle. Whereas the period of receptivity is physically flaunted by most primates, it's hidden in humans by concealed ovulation (often the female herself doesn't know when she's ovulating) and continuous receptivity. Thus, by manipulating sperm, the female orgasm extends the ability to choose and confuse males all the way into the reproductive tract.

BY FAITH WALKER

Earth First! Journal

Brigid

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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via e-mail. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. (Prints are best, negatives are good, slides are fair.) They will be returned if requested.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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# Thoughtful Radicalism Revisited: Because Sometimes \*#!%ing Shit Up Just Isn't Enough

By CHRISTOPHER BAER

The early months of 1999 may well prove to be a turning point for the Earth First! movement. The death of Headwaters defender David Chain renewed public attention on the destruction of ancient forests and violence against conservation activists. David's legacy will be thousands of protected acres of old-growth redwoods. Equally, he might have left us with increased public support for wilderness and whole ecosystems. His story touched middle America, which recognized in it not only that conservation is right but that it could have easily been their outdoor-loving son, daughter, brother, sister or friend who was laid to rest because of the callous actions of those who would destroy the wild.

The arson at the Vail ski resort a few months later by individuals claiming to be from the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), supposedly to protect the Two Elk Roadless Area from the resort's planned expansion, once again focused public attention on Earth First!. Colorado conservationists, including Ancient Forest Rescue (AFR) and Boulder Earth First!ers, were quick to denounce the arson, being well aware of the negative impact it would have on the campaign to preserve the Two Elk.

While the responses of AFR and Boulder Earth First!ers were thoughtful, intelligent and demonstrated the maturity that develops in uncompromising wilderness activism, public reaction by Earth First!ers, including members of the *Earth First! Journal's* editorial collective in numerous press outlets, the editorial, Dear Ned Ludd and the SFB illustrations of the last issue, clearly show that there are some in our movement who have not thoroughly thought through the Vail arson in terms of its appropriateness as an act of wilderness defense but only in terms of its level of radicalness.

## Thoughtful Radicalism

"No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth" is a radical philosophy to be sure, but it is one that must be put into practice by thoughtful radicals if our movement's goals of big wilderness and healthy native ecosystems are to be achieved. The idea of "thoughtful radicalism" was first introduced 10 years ago by former Wyoming representative for Friends of the Earth, wilderness guide, Earth First! co-founder and convicted monkeywrencher Howie Wolke (*EF!* December-January '89). In the wake of the Vail fire and the negative impact on wilderness defense it has had in Colorado, it seems appropriate to revisit Wolke's

ideas in the hope of preventing well intentioned but poorly considered acts of ecotage in the future.

## The Four Cornerstones

According to Wolke there are four cornerstones of thoughtful radicalism: thwart, protect, restore and educate. Wolke recognizes that, "It is admittedly impossible for all radical actions—legal or not—to always build upon the four cornerstones. Sometimes, all you can hope for is to perhaps contribute to the long-term protection for an area. But it is always possible to avoid regression. That means we should consider both the short- and long-term conse-

B.C.



quences... Don't damage any "cornerstones."

Because monkeywrenching by its nature does not contribute to restoring the land, this measuring stick will not evaluate the cornerstone of restoration.

## Thwart

While it may have been the intention of the arsonists to thwart the expansion of Vail into the Two Elk, they did not succeed, as evidenced by the continuing expansion into the roadless area. No act of monkeywrenching is guaranteed to meet with success, but those committing it can increase the chances by carefully thinking through their plans. A look at the evidence reveals that the arson stood no chance of thwarting Vail and saving the Two Elk.

First, the arsonists violated one of the primary guidelines of ecotage, which is to not engage in it if a legal victory appears imminent or if a civil disobedience campaign looks like it will succeed because monkeywrenching can impair public support for long-term protection. While it appeared that all legal remedies for stopping the expansion had been exhausted at Vail, a civil disobedience campaign led by Ancient Forest Rescue was being organized. These activists were in the field in the Two Elk the night of the fires. The level of local support, combined with the action theater of a large ski resort, would have undoubtedly made the defense of the Two Elk a highly visible campaign, one that would have attracted a great deal of media attention and one that stood a strong chance of succeeding until the area could be protected by law.

Second, assuming that it was the appropriate time in

the Two Elk campaign to commit a major act of ecotage, the targets of the arsonist were poorly chosen and were not appropriate if the real motivation was to save the roadless area. The burning of a ski lodge, ski patrol building and chair lift, while guaranteeing a short-term, minor financial setback for Vail Associates (VA), stood no chance of stopping the bulldozers from rolling into the wild. What's more, any financial setback caused to VA as a whole stood no chance of jeopardizing the project because of the amount of capital available to the company.

If the arsonists had taken the time to think about how they could have had the greatest negative impact on Vail's expansion and had understood that in a large company a single act of ecotage can only inflict serious financial damage to individual project budgets, not the whole, they would have instead looked to make the specific work of destroying the Two Elk more difficult by de-commissioning bulldozers, desurveying the area, etc. Such actions would have likely been more effective by slowing if not stopping the work, decreasing worker willingness to participate in the project and increasing insurance premiums, which could have made the project unprofitable and justified its abandonment. It is likely that these actions also would not have gener-

ated the widespread negative attention on the Two Elk campaign and on wilderness advocates that the arson did.

The arson failed to thwart the destruction of the Two Elk Roadless Area because it was poorly timed and did not select targets that could have guaranteed the desired outcome. Because the scale of the arson represented a "final solution," it undermined additional efforts aimed at thwarting the expansion. Longtime Earth First!er Karen Pickett once remarked that "Our motto is 'No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth!' not 'Fuck Shit Up!'" But fuck shit up is exactly what ELF did, not for VA, but for the Two Elk, and those who cared about it and were willing to defend it.

In doing so the ELF did a disservice to the cause of wilderness and damaged the very cornerstone they were trying to facilitate.

## Protect

Successful attempts at thwarting wilderness destruction organically provide de facto protection to wild areas by temporarily removing the threat. In a limited sense then, thwarting creates short-term protection until a new threat arises, at which time activists must fall back to their thwarting tactics. This cycle continues ad infinitum until final protection can be gained for an area by designating it wilderness or other appropriate land management classification. Protection is the end goal of conservation activism, and it is the cornerstone towards which the other three point.

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# Letters To The Editors under 300 words, please!

Dear EF!

I just saw the damndest thing. I'm sitting here in the middle of the night webbing it up and the TV is on. All of a sudden Julia Butterfly is on the dammed TV. I start paying attention and its this celebrity gossip show called *Extra* on the peacock network. They had a poll of their viewers from a previous show and 91 percent of them said that Julia should not be forced to come down! I have the audio. Truth is in fact stranger than fiction. Only 9 percent of insomniac television addicts think Butterfly should be pepper sprayed into submission or felled downslope.

—TC

Dear EF!

When I saw *Schindlers List* which did not address the brutal displacement of the Palestinians in the creation of the Israeli state I thought that Steven Spielberg

was a goddamn asshole. Now that I read in the *EF! Journal* that he is trying to put some "Dreamworks" monstrosity on the last remaining coastal wetlands in LA County I know he is. Thanks for covering that.

—W. MALKUS

Earth First! Journal Staff,

Greetings from Boysenberry Prairie. After receiving the *EF! Journal* today I was very happy to see such good amount of space devoted to delicious topics.

Please send greetings to Agents Cowpie and Cherry Rhubarb as I recently have been informed that the mayor of Eugene has been pie-ed. Congratulations on a job well done.

I was also delighted to see the comic of Mr. Pope being reminded of that big old-growth forest up north on the back cover. And we are all clowns so the rendition of me as such brings forth

a certain giddiness.

Keep up the good work.

Until there is no patriarchy in this world I am...

—AGENT KEY LIME, GENERAL  
COMMAND OF THE BIOTIC BAKING  
BRIGADE—ECOTOPIA CELL

Dear Earth First!

You are cool because you save animals. The cheetah is my favorite animal because I like the dots on them and I like how they run fast. I run fast too. I always wanted to go to the desert because I want to see what it looks like. I want to see the animals.

Sincerely,

—JONATHAN,  
MOFFITT SCHOOL, RM. 205

Dear SFB,

Your *Journal* has introduced me to many inspirational actions and idealistic causes. As a perhaps naive and inexperienced 16 year old, I still believe I am at a rich, influen-

tial and especially passionate time in my life. I have always loved wilderness—sometimes often described as a state of mind rather than a place. I love nature. I love the fact that I am part of a spiritual greatness in which goddess-like trees and goddess-like skies and goddess-like rains and goddess-like me all play equal roles in.

The changes the *EF!* activists are trying to make and accomplishing are noble and fantastic, but often make me wonder. Where is the oneness found amidst all this struggling? When is the beauty of cold, silky, 4 a.m. sunrise sung? I am moved by the ambition of the activists and hope to help the immense divinity of nature survive one day, but... Where is the love? That, and patience, is needed

more than arguments. Thanks so much for helping me to widen my eyes, mind and heart,

—DENA SARAH LIBN

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# Nigerian Protesters Killed

BY DANNY KENNEDY & ANNE ROLFES

As many as 240 people have been killed in the recent bloody backlash against nonviolent civil disobedience in the Niger Delta. The killing started on December 30 when soldiers opened fire in Yenagoa, the capital of Nigeria's main oil-producing Bayelsa State, during an Ijaw youth protest. The Ijaw are Nigeria's fourth-largest ethnic group.

The youths' plan was to stage a series of nonviolent occupations and protests against gas flares, pipelines and other oil installations and demand the withdrawal of the oil companies operating in the delta. "Operation Climate Change," as the youths dubbed it, has been amazingly effective at demonstrating the seriousness of the local communities. With their oil well occupations, 40 percent of production in the region has been shut down intermittently for the past four months by the activists. Almost two-thirds of Nigerian oil flows from Ijaw territory.

The Nigerian military prompted the shutdowns by declaring a state of emergency and creating a Naval Special Security Task Force to police the delta in order to "protect oil installations against vandalism." This task force is eerily similar to the Rivers State Internal Security Task Force, which oversaw the Nigerian government's crackdown on the Ogoni people, another Niger Delta community that is fighting the Shell Corporation. Unconfirmed reports indicate the Nigeria military has been using Shell helicopters to bomb Ijaw towns.

Tanks, warships and hundreds of troops have been sent into Bayelsa State. Soldiers have scoured villages, searched cars, and arbitrarily imprisoned and tortured individuals in search of the organizers of the protests. Although the state of emergency has technically been lifted, the task force remains operational.

"This is a serious backward step for Nigeria. These killings in Bayelsa State raise concerns that the current government is returning to the repressive methods used by the Abacha regime," says Peter Takirambudde, a spokesman for Human Rights Watch.

Oronto Douglas, a spokesperson for the Ijaw Youth Council explained, "All we want is dialogue. What they

want is force. We are asking the multinational companies to withdraw from Ijaw areas immediately."

Over 300 organizations worldwide and dozens of notable individuals, from David Suzuki of Canada to Bishop Samuel Ruiz of Chiapas, endorsed a letter backing the Ijaw's demands. "We ask the companies to cease their activities in the region until all military and paramilitary units are removed, all activists released from prison and the situation is peacefully resolved," said the letter, which was sent to the chief executive officers of all the multinational oil companies operating in Nigeria.

Shell, in particular, has been receiving pressure from other places, with an occupation of its international headquarters in London (see sidebar) and an announcement from the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People on Ogoni Day, January 4, that it would have to shape up or ship out of Ogoni land, not far from Ijaw territory, by the end of this year. On January 6, Shell declared "force majeure" and closed one of its two main export terminals as a result of community unrest. Over 200 soldiers were protecting Forcados terminal, but it had to be closed "because no oil was coming in from the hinterlands," said Paul Ekadi, president of the Ijaw National Council in the US.

If immediate solidarity actions aren't taken in support of the Ijaw,

their struggle could easily go the way of the Ogoni's. The Ogoni refugees are one of the little known stories in the fight against oil in Nigeria. Since the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Ogoni leader, many Ogoni have fled their homeland in order to avoid torture and death. Eight hundred of them are in a

refugee camp in Benin, West Africa. "We left home and are living in exile here in Benin and Togo in some of the worst parts of Africa. It is the fault of Shell and the government."

The Ogoni's plight as refugees is relevant to recent events. The Ogoni, like the Ijaw today, were well-organized, successful and committed to nonviolent civil disobedience. But military brutality overpowered the Ogoni. The Ogoni refugees know that their experience is a case study in what could happen to the Ijaw. They sit and listen to the radio in the camp. They shake their heads because they've already lived this story. "They are the next ones in this refugee camp," said one refugee.

We must learn from the Ogoni experience to assure that the cycle of suffering stops. The Ogoni yesterday. The Ijaw today. There must be no one turned into a corporate refugee tomorrow.

In January, Project Underground released *Shell-Shocked Refugees*, a 32-page passport-style booklet featuring interviews with the Ogoni refugees. It not only explains their plight from their own perspective but gives you action to take to undo the injustice.

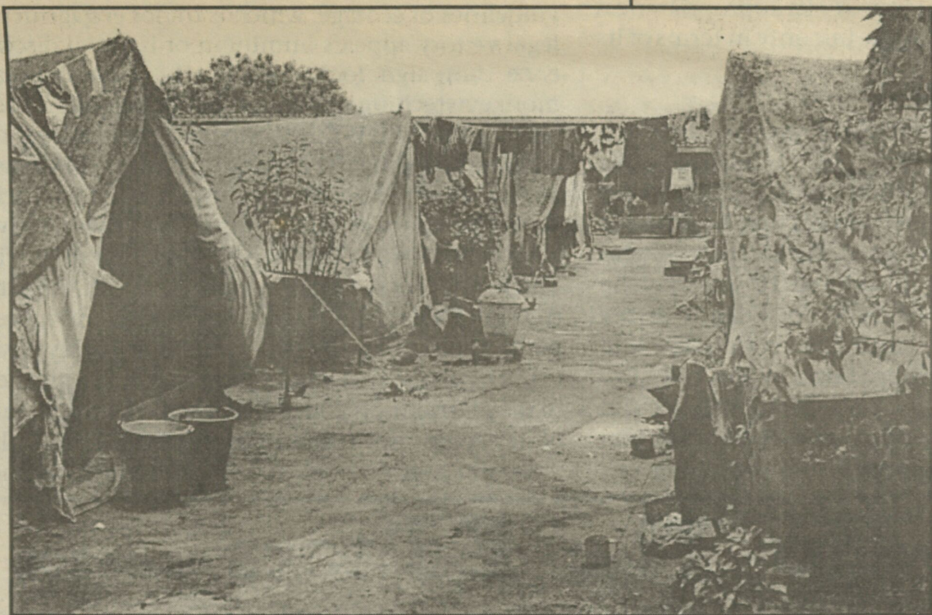
To order the report or for the latest updates on the crisis in Nigeria, contact Project Underground, 1847 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94703; (510) 705-8981; listproc@essential.org.



On January 4, Ogoni Day in Nigeria as well as the first working day of 1999, an astonishingly well-dressed group of 12 concerned citizens occupied three key locations in Shellmex House, the headquarters of Shell UK. They stayed for four hours until forcibly removed by the police. During the office occupation the activists uploaded a spoof website (still found at [www.kempton.org/shell](http://www.kempton.org/shell)) that mimics Shell's own but tells the truth rather than applying layer after layer of world-class greenwash. Shell declined to press charges.

News of the action soon reached the Niger Delta. With any luck it provided a few precious shreds of hope to the extraordinary people who have consistently put their lives and their livelihoods on the line by calling and fighting for a complete end to oil production by transnational corporations on their

lands. Perhaps the greatest reward for the 12 was the knowledge that they had shed more light on an extraordinarily inspiring yet criminally unknown battle for ecological and social justice in the delta. Both the British press and the often bewilderingly ignorant employees of Shell now have far less excuse to turn a blind eye to the situation.



The Ogoni refugee camp, symbol of the plight of corporate refugees

## Indian Animal Lovers Beat Poachers

Long before Earth First!ers ever linked arms on a logging road or set a platform in a tree, Indian villagers in the Rajasthan desert were putting their lives on the line to protect the local ecosystem. Today, the Bishnoi people continue that tradition, albeit in a more proactive manner, by beating poachers who dare venture into the area.

In 1730, a local timber baron sent his army to cut trees near the Bishnoi village. A woman named Amrita Devi, moved by a love for nature, jumped in the way. Soldiers decapitated her and threatened to do likewise to anyone else who impeded their work. Three hundred sixty-two other Bishnoi embraced the trees in a sequence of defiant sacrifice.

The Bishnoi follow the teachings of a 15th century Hindu guru, Jhambaji, who coined 29 precepts for instilling a reverence for life, including prohibitions against using intoxicants, eating meat or breaking twigs. One much-reprinted old photo shows a Bishnoi woman breast-feeding an orphaned

deer. Elder Prahlad Ram says, "Yes, such things have been known to happen. Between us and the animals there is complete trust. Our teachings tell us that we must serve as protectors and nurturers of all things."

To that end, the young offspring of the prosperous grain-farming people give chase to all poachers hunting the small antelope known as the black buck. If the youth catch the poachers, they beat them.

Just after midnight on October 1, the people of Kankani were awakened by the gunshots of poachers. "I saw their jeep race by, and my head filled up with anger," said elder Ram. "We all began to shout and scramble. They had already killed the bucks. These animals are sacred to us, and we consider their lives more important than our own." Indeed, in 1996, one local youth was shot and killed while chasing the poachers.

But on October 1 the vigilantes only came close enough to read the Jeep's license number and recog-

nize the driver, the heart-throb, action-flick hero, Salman Khan. "Had we caught him we would have beaten him severely," said another village elder, Choka Ram.

At first, luck seemed to be on the young actor's side. Not only was he spared a severe beating, but the state's chief veterinarian found in a postmortem examination that the two black bucks had died of overeating and a poorly timed leap, preventing prosecution of Khan.

Due to the high profile of the case, however, a reexamination was demanded. It was then determined that the animals had suffered fatal bullet wounds and that the state veterinarian was involved in a cover-up and was subject to arrest.

The actor Khan now faces one to seven years in prison, and though that's not the justice that the Bishnoi would most like to see meted out, they aren't complaining either. After all, the bottom line for the Bishnoi is what's best for the wild.



# EXPORT THIS!

BY PAT VENDETTI

In the long history of the destruction of British Columbia's rainforest, one of the more offensive timber industry practices is the export of raw, unprocessed logs to foreign buyers, mainly Japan. While the government fools the public about the health of the forests in BC, the industry exports massive quantities of wood, cutting back its labour force and blaming it on high taxes and overly rigorous environmental protection. To highlight the hypocrisy, activists from the Forest Action Network (FAN) and People's Action for Threatened Habitat (PATH) joined forces for a month-long series of protests and actions targeting raw log exports in the province.

1998 had been a quiet year for direct action in Vancouver, but that all changed on the morning of October 28 when activists approached the ship *Oriente Victoria* at Ballantyne Pier in Vancouver as it was loading raw logs bound for Japan. Two small, inflatable motor boats called zodiacs and the FAN vessel *Starlet* approached a floating boom and displayed banners reading, "Log Exports = Job Exports," and "Stop Raw Log Exports," while speaking to workers. Although we had decided not to prevent work in any way, company supervisors acted aggressively, playing "chicken" with one zodiac by dropping logs over its bow and sides, trying to scare it away. Undaunted, the crew held its position alongside the logs, speaking to the longshoremen and winning support from them both for their courage and the truth of their position. After several hours on the water we returned to our base, promising to return soon.

Our return came less than 48 hours later as the ship prepared for its departure. In the previous two days we had decided to escalate our activities and attempt to stop the logs from leaving the port. As FAN activists approached the vessel, Barney Kern of PATH scaled the bow line of the *Victoria* and hung himself and his banner between the shore and the ship, effectively stopping it from leaving. Within 30 minutes the ship had been immobilized and sloganized. Barney held the bow line throughout the day, until police moved in and arrested him around 5 p.m. Once again, support from workers was good, with tug boat operators giving us the thumbs up and sailors waving and laughing. Company officials were once again hostile, attempting to cut off our boats as we escorted the ship out of the harbour. Luckily, the maneuverability of our zodiacs proved too much for their aggressive charges, and we headed back to base as night fell across the water.

Until this point, no work had been stopped, though our message had been presented in a variety of ways. Media coverage had been good, but we had still not prevented any logs from being loaded, and so we decided to take the next logical step and put ourselves between the logs and ships. But activists began to drift off and interest waned during the ensuing two weeks while we waited for the next ship. Finally, our ship came in—two actually, the *Royal Forest* and the *Oriente Grace*, the sister ship of our initial target.

We hit the water on November 19 intent on stopping the loading for at least three hours. At 10:15 a.m. we headed across Vancouver harbour at top speed (giving ferry passengers a pretty unique morning sight!). Within minutes we had arrived at the *Oriente Grace*, and five activists armed with golf shoes and body banners jumped aboard the logs. While the longshoremen were on their break we occupied the logs, taking up positions directly under the cranes and assessing where they would attempt to load first. No opposition was voiced by any of the workers, and activists allowed them to hook lines to the logs, climbing aboard as soon as the logs were attached. Tense moments followed as the ship foremen or-

dered the crane operators to bring the logs up and the lines under the logs tightened beneath and around us. One activist used this moment to climb up the sling lines onto the crane hook itself, forcing the issue even further. No one else moved. Despite the forceful orders



"The supervisors acted aggressively, playing 'chicken' with one zodiac by dropping logs over its bow and sides."

of the foremen to lift the logs, the crane operators threw up their hands in defeat and climbed down from their towers. We had succeeded in immobilizing one ship! While two activists remained under the cranes, speaking to workers and sharing jokes and cookies, the zodiacs zoomed to ship two.

The *Royal Forest* had been loading while we immobilized the *Oriente Grace*, and as we arrived the crane lifted one lot of logs into the air. With monkey-like agility, an activist ran across the logs and used a line hanging down the side of the ship to climb 50 feet onto the deck and into the hold! By getting under the logs about to be dropped into the hold, the activist forced the crane operator to return the logs to the water. Two other activists had succeeded in immobilizing the second and third cranes. In under 45 minutes we had forced both ships to cease operating, discovering in the process that this was the maiden voyage of the *Royal Forest*! What a baptism! Let's hope it's a sign of things to come. Attempts by the police to fool us off the logs by reading an invalid injunction failed, and at 4:30 p.m. we were still in place! By law, workers cannot load raw logs after dark so they headed home, happy to be paid for a day of sitting around, talking and drinking tea provided by *Starlet*. We followed soon after, wet, cold and tired but ready to hit the logs the next morning.

Friday morning turned out to be the most intense day yet. We had reached an agreement with the longshoremen that we would not show up until 8:30 a.m. so they would be clocked in and receive at least half a day's pay. When we arrived at around 8:40 we discovered that the shipping company had sacrificed the loading of the *Royal Forest* and used the log booms adjacent to it to block our entrance to the slip! There was no way for our boats to get us near the *Oriente Grace*, and they were loading as we watched. Within minutes we were pulling a zodiac (less an engine) across the logs towards the blocked off area. As soon as we neared the inner harbour, a tug boat charged at us, and a company official jabbed a log pick at our boat, puncturing the zodiac's front chamber. He then attempted to tie us to the tug. Despite our entreaties that this was a nonviolent protest, the thug continued to wrestle with us and our equipment, even as his compatriots walked away from the scene saying they wanted nothing to do with him. After a 15-minute struggle, six of us managed to pull the boat away from this lunatic and into the slip, giving us access to the logs. Against a strong wind, three activists paddled for the logs as the ship foremen waited on the booms with their log picks pointing directly at us. As we neared the booms one of the foremen stabbed at our boat but was prevented from doing any damage by activist Texas Joe, who grabbed the pole and put himself between its spike and the boat. As this was happening a second company hack stabbed our port air chamber, giving us no choice but to get on the logs as we now had an unusable boat! Two amazing things happened as we crawled out of our rapidly deflating zodiac onto the



photo by Heinz Ruckman

logs. First, motivated by the struggle, two of our fellow activists jumped in the water and swam to the booms in near-freezing water to join us. Second, the longshoremen walked off the job, leaving no one to load the wood. Suddenly there were five activists and two angry company representatives on the booms. Sensing their disadvantage, the reps retreated to the ship, leaving us alone on the booms, successful in our attempt to stop the ships from loading. Since we had no means of

retreat we settled in and prepared to stay the day. At one point, a representative from the union local came down and expressed his support.

We had exceeded our own expectations by over a day and a half of activities, won worker and union support, cost the company a lot of money and sent a clear message that our will to stop them was stronger than theirs to continue. All of this happened without one arrest, preparing us for our final act of 1998—a 1,000-kilometer drive north to stop them in Bella Coola, home of FAN and heart of the Great Bear Rainforest.

During the actions we had been informed that the company was sending supervisors to Bella Coola in order to load logs. One of these same supervisors had been overheard declaring how happy he was he wouldn't have to deal with "any of those Vancouver protesters." On Sunday night a vanful of activists left Vancouver, arriving in Bella Coola late the next day. Within two days a Franken-zodiac had been constructed from spare parts lying around, a small engine, a skiff and other essential items, found and borrowed.

The next morning we attacked. As one skiff was drawing the attention of the crew in a slow paddle towards the ship's port side, the Franken-zod pulled up to the ship and an activist climbed aboard the stern line. He was quickly lowered down by the ship crew, but fast action by the zodiac crew got the boat positioned underneath him. He climbed up again and was lowered again. While the captain of the boat was hemorrhaging in apoplectic rage, screaming at us full-lung, another activist pulled alongside the stern line and, after our climber was lowered for a third time, attached herself and the skiff to the line. A local motor vessel joined the fray, and two men wielding knives and acting very aggressively slashed at the banner we had attached to the line and attempted to cut and pry the boat off the line. Water cannons were brought out, and the activists were sprayed, but we held our ground and refused to budge. A tense standoff continued through the remainder of the day until police moved in and arrested us as dusk approached. Once again we had succeeded in interfering substantially in the raw log export trade. Notice has now been served to the irresponsible and greedy timber exporters of this province—activists in BC will continue standing up until the destruction of our world's last rainforests comes to an end.

Thanks to all who participated and to Greenpeace for the loans! The Forest Action Network and People's Action for Threatened Habitat intend to keep things busy this year—contact us in '99 for activity info! Save the Great Bear Rainforest! Get a life, hug a tree!

Forest Action Network, POB 625, Bella Coola, BC VOT 1C0; (250) 299-5800; fax 799-5830; fanbc@envirolink.org; www.fanweb.org.

People's Action for Threatened Habitat, POB 19596, Vancouver, BC, V5T 4E7; (604) 255-4454.



# Stopping the Bison Slaughter

BY DAN BRISTER AND SUE NACKONEY

Our mile-long morning ski is lit by the moon. The tracks of earlier patrols are hardly visible, but somehow our skis follow along as if they know the way themselves. We take a few sweeping strides and shoot over the ridge. As we fly through the darkness, we take all the speed we can from the hill and glide a good way across the open valley. We find the all-night patrol sitting around the fire watching the buffalo who walked out of the park as they sleep near the capture pen, which the DOL has baited with irresistibly sweet-smelling hay. Some of the buffalo stand up and eye us warily. Finally they lie down again in their snow hollows or swish snow aside with their huge heads to get to the grass below.

So far this winter over 100 buffalo have left Yellowstone National Park in search of grasses at lower elevations near West Yellowstone, Montana. But whenever buffalo step over the invisible park boundary, they are chased, captured or gunned down by the Montana Department of Livestock (DOL). Based on an unsubstantiated fear that bison might transmit the disease brucellosis to cattle, the DOL is determined to annihilate the last wild herd of buffalo in the lower 48 states.

Two winters ago, the DOL and the National Park Service killed nearly 1,100 buffalo. Now, the DOL is poised to repeat this slaughter; and a band of activists from around the world have come to Buffalo Nations determined to prevent it. Volunteers have been working around the clock to keep the buffalo from meeting an untimely fate at the hands of the DOL.

With a budget tripled since last year, the DOL has been out in force this winter, chasing buffalo back into the park and disrupting wildlife migration patterns. Repeatedly, buffalo have been herded for miles through deep snow and barbed-wire fences at a time of year when they need to conserve their energy. This is especially dangerous for pregnant females.

The DOL's activities are also causing the harassment of other migratory wildlife in this ecosystem. In a massive bison hazing operation on December 8, a DOL snowmobiler caused a herd of over 100 elk to stampede. One panicked elk flipped over a fence and landed on its head.

Buffalo Nations volunteers were ready on January 7 when events took a turn for the worse. The DOL used

hay to lure 11 buffalo out of the park and into the capture facility. Unbeknownst to DOL security, a Buffalo Nations volunteer snuck into the pen and freed a captive bull. Before the buffalo could escape the outermost pen, DOL security blocked the only open gate. The buffalo saw the truck, jumped up and broke through a closed gate to freedom. The volunteer escaped as well.

Later that day a volunteer attempted to block the capture facility's loading chute by locking down but was apprehended and arrested by the sheriff.

Of the remaining captive buffalo, eight were shipped to a slaughterhouse the next morning. As the livestock trailer approached the pen, several people tried to stop the truck by jumping in front of it and were



Buffalo Nations activists keep an eye on the roaming herds

nearly run over. The vehicle was forced to stop when an activist grabbed onto the trailer and locked his neck to the back of it with a krypto lock while it was going 30 miles per hour.

On the morning of January 13, before first light, a Buffalo Nations activist locked herself to the top of a 35-foot tripod blocking the transport of another nine captive buffalo to the slaughterhouse. It took law enforcement half a day to remove her. The next day, five of the captive buffalo were shipped to slaughter.

The Animal Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) has repeatedly told Montana that the state will not lose its cherished brucellosis-free status if it tolerates the presence of yearling calves and bulls who have a low risk of transmitting it. The disease

can only be transmitted if cattle come in contact with brucellosis-contaminated birthing materials. Of the 13 buffalo killed so far, 11 were bulls, who obviously were not pregnant. The ultimate decision to continue the slaughter rests with Governor Marc Racicot, who oversees the DOL, and it's up to us to let him know that we hold him personally responsible for the needless deaths of wild buffalo.

The DOL also plans to build a new capture facility on Horse Butte, near Hebgen Lake on the Gallatin National Forest. Horse Butte is prime winter range for the buffalo and contains habitat for bald eagles, grizzly bears, lynx, black-backed woodpeckers, boreal owls, trumpeter swans, wolverines, elk, moose, red fox, goshawk, peregrine falcon, large-leaved balsamroot and white paintbrush. The Chief Joseph wolf pack has also been spotted on the butte. The DOL has asked the US Department of Agriculture to fund the costs of installing and operating the buffalo trap with taxpayers footing the bill at \$500,000 a year for the next 10 years. All of this is justified in order to protect a mere 170 cow-calf pairs that graze on three public allotments on Horse Butte and generate a total of \$765 a year in grazing fees.

The presence of Buffalo Nations volunteers is a constant reminder to bison management agencies that the slaughter must stop. There is no justifiable reason for buffalo to be persecuted for following their natural migratory instincts. Yellowstone's boundary is not an ecosystem boundary, and these buffalo are not Montana's buffalo. Rather, they are an integral part of one of the continent's last intact ecosystems.

Does locking down in subfreezing temperatures intrigue you? Do you want to spend your winter days on skis watching and defending buffalo? Do you wish you could eat the best food outside of Cove Mallard? Well wish no more. Come to Yellowstone and help us put an end to the DOL's days of harassing and killing buffalo. We provide food and a space in our warm cabin for all who volunteer. Contact us at POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; fax 646-0071; buffalo@wildrockies.org.

Let Governor Racicot know that the slaughter is unacceptable! Contact him at State Capitol Building, Helena, MT 59620-0801; (406) 444-3111. Contact the DOL's acting director Marc Bridges at POB 202001, Helena, MT 59620-2001; (406) 444-2023.

## LEAVE IT TO THE BEAVERS

The following is an excerpt from actual correspondence between the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and a property owner.

It has come to the attention of the Department of Environmental Quality that there has been recent unauthorized activity on the above-referenced parcel of property. You have been certified as the legal landowner and/or contractor who did the following unauthorized activity: construction and maintenance of two wood-debris dams across the outlet stream of Spring Pond.

A permit must be issued prior to the start of this type of activity. A review of the Department's files shows that no permits have been issued. Therefore, the Department has determined that this activity is in violation of Part 301, Inland Lakes and Streams, of the Natural Resource and Environmental Protection Act, Act 451 of the Public Acts of 1994, being sections 324.30101 to 324.30113 of the Michigan Compiled Laws, annotated.

The Department has been informed that one or both of the dams partially failed during a recent rain event, causing debris and flooding at downstream locations. We find that dams of this nature are inherently hazardous and cannot be permitted. The Department therefore orders you to cease and desist all unauthorized activities at this location and to restore the stream to a free-flow condition by removing all wood and brush forming the dams from the stream channel.

Failure to comply with this request or any further unauthorized activity on the site may result in this case being referred for elevated enforcement action. We anticipate and would appreciate your full cooperation in this matter.

Please feel free to contact me at this office if you have any questions.

Sincerely, David L. Price, District Representative, Land and Water Management Division

Dear Mr. Price:

Your certified letter has been handed to me to respond to. I am the legal owner, and a couple of beavers are in the (state-unauthorized) process of constructing and maintaining two wood "debris" dams across the outlet stream of my Spring Pond.

While I did not pay for, authorize, nor supervise their dam project, I think

they would be highly offended that you call their skillful use of natural building materials "debris." I would like to challenge your department to attempt to emulate their dam project any time and/or any place you choose. I believe I can safely state there is no way you could ever match their dam skills, their dam resourcefulness, their dam ingenuity, their dam persistence, their dam determination and/or their dam work ethic.

As to your request, I do not think the beavers are aware that they first must fill out a dam permit prior to the start of this type of dam activity. My first dam question to you is: (1) are you trying to discriminate against my Spring Pond beavers, or (2) do you require all beavers throughout this state to conform to said dam request?

If you are not discriminating against these particular beavers, through the Freedom of Information Act I request completed copies of all those other applicable beaver dam permits that have been issued.

Aren't the beavers entitled to legal representation? The Spring Pond beavers are financially destitute and are unable to pay for said representation—so the state will have to provide them with a dam lawyer.

As for me, I am not going to cause more flooding or dam debris jams by interfering with these dam builders. If you want to hurt these dam beavers, be aware I am sending a copy of your dam letter and this response to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

In my humble opinion, the Spring Pond beavers have a right to build their unauthorized dams as long as the sky is blue, the grass is green and water flows downstream. They have more dam right than I do to live and enjoy Spring Pond. If the Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection lives up to its name, it should protect the natural resources (beavers) and their environment (beavers' dams).

In conclusion, I would like to bring to your attention a real environmental quality (health) problem in the area. It is the bears. Bears are actually defecating in our woods. I definitely believe you should be persecuting the defecating bears and leave the beavers alone. If you are going to investigate the beaver dam, watch your step! The bears are not careful where they dump!

Being unable to comply with your dam request and unable to contact you on your dam answering machine, I am sending this response to your dam office via another government organization—the dam US Postal Service.



# Bounty Hunter Offered \$35K to Kill Wolves

BY JOSH LAUGHLIN

A new twist to the sad story of the Mexican wolf reintroduction program has surfaced (see *EF!* December-January '99). Although not widely publicized, new information suggests that the wolf killings are not random acts of wildlife-hating loose cannons but are an organized campaign to sabotage the federal wolf recovery program.

In early April 1998, when Patricia Wolff, director of New West Research and longtime wolf advocate, was visiting incarcerated animal rights and Earth First! activist Rod Coronado, he spoke to her about Jody "Chance" Cooper (or Predator's Predator as he calls himself), a fellow inmate who was offered money to kill endangered Mexican wolves. Stunned, Wolff asked Coronado to arrange a telephone interview with him so she could get more information. She took this unconfirmed information to US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) law enforcement officers but didn't receive any attention.

Cooper is no stranger to firearms and bounties. In February 1995, he was convicted in Colfax County, New Mexico, of aggravated assault and illegal possession of a firearm after "allegedly shooting at someone's feet to make them dance." Furthermore, Arizona Game and Fish launched an undercover investigation into a possible illegal mountain lion hunt by Cooper in March of 1996. During the investigation, Cooper, who didn't have a hunting guide license, led an undercover agent on a lion hunt and accepted payment. Wolff was informed by two federal probation officers that Cooper had been killing mountain lions for Arizona ranchers when he was busted in 1996. The list of Cooper's criminal convictions goes on.

In late April, a few weeks after her visit with Coronado, news broke that a reintroduced wolf had been shot and killed. On May 8, Wolff secretly recorded a phone interview with Cooper. Here are the most interesting segments of the tape:

**Patricia Wolff (PW):**

... I've got lots of hunter friends here and... well... here's the word out... and you can tell me if this is right or not... So what I've been hearing is that some hunters are being offered money to kill the released wolves... And I'm wondering if you have ever been... um... if anyone has ever made such an offer to you... Is this true?

**Chance Cooper (CC):** Well... I'll give you... how is this: They offered me \$35,000 in cash to kill 'em all.

**PW:** Who made that offer?

**CC:** I can't tell you.

**PW:** Okay.

**CC:** But it's got to do with the goddamn cattlemen for sure.

**PW:** It's got to do with what?

**CC:** The cattlemen... My dad... see, my family's been here since the 1890s... We've been in Arizona longer than most people have, and the wolves was always here... It was never a goddamn big issue...

**PW:** Well, was it a person or an organization that made you the offer?

**CC:** A person.

**PW:** A person... Uh huh... So this was from someone who was a cattleman?

**CC:** It came from New Mexico.

**PW:** What part of New Mexico?

**CC:** Western New Mexico.

**PW:** Western... like Catron County?

**CC:** Exactly.

**PW:** Okay.

**CC:** The sheriff of course hates my guts.

**PW:** So what were the terms of the offer? You were offered \$35,000...

**CC:** To kill 'em all.

**PW:** Yeah...

**CC:** But I'm not gonna do it... I like the wolves... We have such an elk population that they starve in the winter... And they placed those wolves in a bad spot... They should have goddamn taken 'em down to Blue River Road... where the fish hatchery is... They should of released 'em down in that area.

**PW:** Well do you know of anyone else who's been offered money?

**CC:** Probably my brother has.

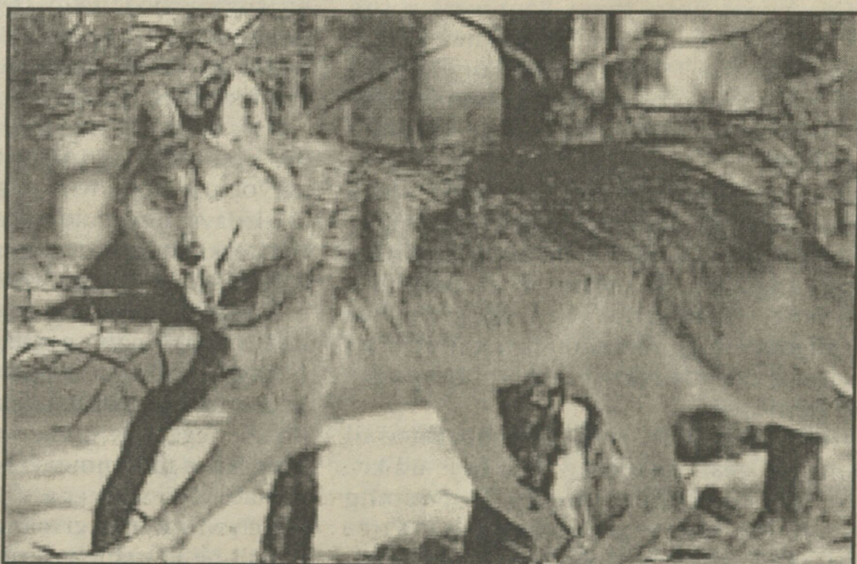
**PW:** And he also turned 'em down?

**CC:** Yeah... \$35,000 practically wasn't even gonna pay for the attorney.

**PW:** Yeah, that's not very much.

**CC:** Fuck no... and then that's 15 years...

**PW:** So you just don't want to go public about this because...?



At home, cruising the wild

**CC:** That would goddamn bury me. Oh, god no.

**PW:** How could they get you...? You're in prison.

**CC:** I was charged... I've been charged... for... elk... [unintelligible]... and the goddamn Game and Fish has been after me for years... god... I hope you're not taping this.

**PW:** No.

**CC:** Because I can't... I don't want nothing to do with this [unintelligible].

**PW:** Okay... Well this verifies the rumor then... So this person who of-



Photo courtesy of the US Fish and Wildlife Service

One of the reintroduced wolves shot in the Southwest

ferred you the money to kill the wolf, er, to kill all the wolves for \$35,000... was the person from Silver City?

**CC:** No.

**PW:** Somewhere in Catron...?

**CC:** I think he goddamn lives around Glenwood. He's a goddamn rancher.

**PW:** So this person was someone you knew?

**CC:** Yeah, I've known him for a long time.

**PW:** Well, gosh, this is very interesting.

**CC:** You wanna catch somebody doing something.

**PW:** I would like to find out who's making the offer... because those are the people... I don't want to get you in trouble.

**CC:** ... You'd get me so goddamn much in trouble... the cattlemen would fuckin'... would be on my dad's ass, and my dad would be ashamed of me.

**PW:** Yeah, yeah.

**CC:** I mean we been here for so goddamn long. My dad... I never told him I was gonna tell... I told him that I was gonna say something to somebody, but he said just don't bring his goddamn name up.

**PW:** Yeah, okay.

**CC:** ... I'd prefer you not say anything because I'd have to deny everything. That would put me in such a bad situation... All my inlaws are goddamn ranchers...

**PW:** I have to go now, but I'm wondering if I could come and visit you sometime would you talk more to me?

**CC:** I'm outta here in two months. I get out in July. Are you

still gonna be in the country in July?

**PW:** Yeah.

**CC:** I'll be in the halfway house.

**PW:** Okay.

**CC:** We can go have coffee at the damn club.

**PW:** Okay.

**CC:** I wish they had a Starbucks here, but they don't.

**PW:** Okay, well, I got to head off.

**CC:** Well, ma'am, I'll tell you what. Right now I'm just trying to get out of this goddamn place.

**PW:** Well thanks, thanks so much.

At least I know the rumor is true.

**CC:** New Mexico Cattlemen's Association.

**PW:** Yeah... those bastards. Okay... I figured... Thanks a lot.

**CC:** Yes, ma'am.

Wolff told US Fish and Wildlife Service investigators about her recorded interview with bounty hunter Cooper in May, but it fell upon deaf ears. It wasn't until a string of three more wolf shootings between August 7 and November 7 that an agent finally listened to the tape. According to Wolff, a grand jury has recently been convened to investigate the wolf killings, but the US Attorney's office in Albuquerque told her it would not confirm nor deny the existence of such a grand jury. The US Fish and Wildlife Service is currently in the midst of four "open investigations" concerning wolf shootings over the past few months. It has declined to comment on the ongoing investigations.

By late November, the federal reintroduction had been successfully sabotaged. The last two survivors in the wild, both males, were recaptured and put back into pens. Determined to continue, the agency released two pairs of wolves from acclimation pens on December 11. According to the USFWS, an adult male and two-year-old female have remained together, ranging up to 15 miles from their release pen. The other pair, released from a different pen, split up after three days. The male members of these two pairs were the survivors of the original 11 released in March.

Only time will tell the fate of this testy reintroduction program. The USFWS seems positive about the steps it is taking. "We are much more confident now in these wolves' ability to survive and thrive in the wild," said David Parsons, Mexican wolf recovery leader for the USFWS. "Now we need to place more emphasis on increasing human tolerance of wolves and eliminating illegal killing, which is the main factor preventing the return of the lobo to the Southwest." But in order for this success to come, the USFWS must not just release wolf after wolf back into the wild, it must get to the bottom of the Cooper tape and prosecute the forces behind the sniping.

The tape recording Wolff made of her conversation with Cooper can be heard as an audiofile on the website of Forest Guardians ([www.fguardians.org](http://www.fguardians.org)).



# Blockaders Napalmed in Australia

BY JILL REDWOOD

The southeastern corner of the "land down under" supports one of the largest tracts of temperate forest remaining on mainland Australia. Most of the rest of the continent has been mined, grazed, burnt, logged and generally degraded. There's diddly squat that remains intact that's as ancient as the earth it grows in.

One of these lush forests is known by its aboriginal name, Goolengook. It covers over 20,000 acres. Until the state "conservation" department sent in the loggers on World Environment Day in June 1997, Goolengook's powerful owls and tiger quolls (the largest mainland carnivorous marsupial) had never heard a chainsaw or bulldozer.

The Goolengook blockade is the longest-running continuous forest blockade in Australia's history. Over 200 arrests have been made during the past 24 months. Blockaders have used tree sits, tripods and "hot rocks" (a fire in the middle of the road that is difficult to move once its put out). Cables anchored under dozers and log loaders have been used to suspend tree sits. Blockaders have locked onto the top and underside of bridges, locked down to cement-filled bathtubs in the road, locked arms through a bulldozer's tracks, set up cantilevers, locked onto log loaders and cranes used to pluck tree sitters from their platforms, and constructed a giant 25-meter monopole on the Goolengook bridge.

Along with the gung-ho blockaders, Green Party Senator Bob Brown has been arrested at Goolengook. His ensuing court battle proved that the government has illegally logged in protected Heritage River zones for the past six years. Totally unembarrassed, the government simply changed the legislation to make this destruction legal!

All of this has cost the government more than it received in royalties for the wood. Of the total volume of logs cut, 85 percent was woodchip grade (old-growth forests are regarded as producing crap timber and woodchips, but the site can be "re-forested" with commercially desirable species planted three-meters apart—a la plantation).

Over this time, blockaders have been chased by a logger revving his chainsaw, had petrol thrown in their faces, been dropped off cantilevers, and dragged and dropped off the top of tripods. They've been ambushed and assaulted by loggers on lonely roads, been assaulted by police while being processed, had trees felled near them and had a logger throw his shit at them. A crowd of people was rammed by a government grader driver. There's been a constant campaign of false accusations of sabotage by the Conservation Department. Activists have been punched out by loggers, had bullets fired through the windows of a safe house in the nearby town and so on.

All of this culminated in the attempted burning of blockaders in spring 1998. As part of its logging operations, the Department of Natural Resources and Environment (NRE) puts an intensely hot burn through a logged area, destroying all logging debris and surviving vegetation to prepare the site for planting preferred tree species.

When the police and government foresters organized the burning of the Goolengook logging coupes (timber sale) in September, they knew protesters were still inside the area. When the burning began, five people were unaccounted for. Fire bombs fell just meters away from people who were in the thick of the burns and disoriented by the smoke.



Locking to a crane stops the cops from removing tree sitters.



Another dozer lockdown during Australia's longest-running forest blockade

the department was burned to death in one of these burns. Since then, NRE has used helicopters for the higher-elevation forest burns to ensure the safety of workers. A helicopter circles the coupe dropping incendiary devices so fire completely surrounds the area and burns in on itself. The napalm released from a chute under the chopper is a mixture of aluminum sterate, petrol and methanol. It is dropped in burning blobs of gel that are intended to keep burning even in water. It sticks to anything it lands on.

Protesters were camped in the area to prepare for the start of the logging season. NRE officers warned two or three of the protesters that they would be burning the coupe and to stay clear. Even the protesters were unsure how many others were in the area and where they were. Later we found out that when the fires began, approximately eight people were there. Four were at the far end of the coupe maintaining a 30-meter-high tree sit. Another 10 or 11 were camped on the road leading into the three coupes. Worried about the others at the tree sit, three people began to walk in to alert them.

While in the middle of the logged coupes an NRE officer drove past and told them they were trespassing and to get out. He didn't mention anything about beginning the burn. Clearly, when the police did tell protesters to leave, their warning system was less than effective. One woman was told not to go down the road, but the NRE officer would not say why until pressured.

At the tree sit, the police and NRE confiscated all of the campers' gear, including their first aid kit! They were told the chopper would be dropping fire in 15 minutes. One woman stayed up the tree while the other three walked out in different directions to make sure others weren't in the area. But before they got far, the helicopter was dropping napalm, and the dry logging debris was burning intensely.

Fee, a German visitor, was on a tree platform about 30-meters high when the napalm began dropping from the chopper. She was overcome by smoke and became sick and unable to climb down. She was alone and feared for her life.

Colby, a student from Canberra, was on the edge of the coupe and panicked when the nearby bush began burning intensely. He was soon lost in the smoke.

The three who were on their way to alert the tree-sit camp were caught in the fire and had to quickly

About five years ago, an employee of

make their way down to the river buffer. From there they made it to the bridge and found another woman crying, vomiting and very traumatized. She had staggered through the logging debris and buffer zones in choking smoke to reach the bridge.

When Colby had still not returned that night the alarm was raised. The department didn't take this report seriously, telling media inquiries it was a hoax. When Search and Rescue arrived, they sat down and had a cup of tea.

During and after this fire, calls to the NRE were fruitless. Its policy was to say nothing except that the matter was in the hands of the police. Its agents would not answer any questions. After requesting police help, one officer responded with, "What do you expect us to do about it? We're not super human! We're not going into a burning coupe!" The senior sergeant in charge stated that they had done a proper search and found no one. He refused to release information as to the nature of the search. We believe the NRE did not send anyone out to help.

When Colby was eventually found at noon the next day by two friends (who were caught in the fire themselves the day before), he was very traumatized and weak. Later, the police charged him with being inside a forest operation zone without a permit.

Days after this event some people caught in the fire were suffering from post traumatic stress disorder. One woman who tried to write her statement three days later could not due to her shaking hands. For weeks afterwards, people were still nauseous and coughing up phlegm from smoke inhalation.

The department has received a formal complaint and is supposedly investigating. The police are refusing to return calls on this matter. There has also been a meeting with barristers to get the ball rolling on the legal front. We are insisting that the cops charge the government foresters or the Department of Natural Resources and Environment for this act, which will at least give them lots of paperwork. But it will be extremely difficult to get the police to prosecute as they were involved. Private prosecutions are notorious for failing and can drag on for years, costing the prosecuting party heaps.

The government also brought in a sneaky regulation that makes it illegal for anyone to be in a forest operation zone without a permit. The fine for violations is \$2,000, on top of the \$1,600 fines people have been getting for obstructing roads and logging operations. But so far, it's not stopped people from protesting.

More logging is planned in Goolengook for this summer season. To get involved or for more information contact the campaign through Private Bag 3, Orbest VIC 3888; (03) 5154-0156 or (03) 5154-0145; croeg@bigpond.com.



# STARVING FOR CHANGE

## BARRY HORNE SURVIVES 68 DAY HUNGER STRIKE

BY KRIS MAENZ

Hunger, deep and all consuming, eating your mind slowly but surely. In the first days your stomach growls, but after a while your belly shrinks so much you no longer notice the emptiness. Somewhere around the fifth day your body starts to eat itself. First it consumes your fat, then muscles, next your soft internal organs, then your brain, and then you die. Yet historically, hunger strikes have been an enduring form of non-violent direct action.

On October 6, 1998, Barry Horne, a jailed animal rights activist in England, began his third hunger strike from inside his cell at Full Sutton Prison in York. His simple demand was that the British government establish a Royal Commission (a government review panel) to examine animal testing, a promise made by Prime Minister Tony Blair in pre-election campaigns.

The media and the government screamed blackmail, accusing Barry of using unfair threats. He began his first hunger strike while waiting to be sentenced for a fire-bombing campaign against animal exploiters. He later received an 18-year jail sentence. His first fast lasted 35 days, ending after a meeting with government officials. His second went for 45 days, until he was promised a reform of the advisory Animal Protection Committee. This time, however, the government was adamant. It would not budge.

In the beginning the hunger strike went well. Support for Barry was everywhere. Numerous actions and demonstrations were organized for the 46-year-old former garbage man jailed for his love of animals. Fur farms were destroyed, farm animals released and laboratories burned in support of Horne's hunger strike. The British government seemed to be listening. On the 38th day of the hunger strike the Labour government announced Britain's voluntary cessation of cosmetic testing. But it was later discovered that this move had been planned long before Barry's fast began. On November 19, the 44th day of the hunger strike, a meeting between the government and animal rights activists was convened to discuss deals to end the strike. No satisfactory offers were made.

For the next 16 days Barry waited, as the hunger ate his body, hoping for an end to all animal testing. Messages trickled in from different government officials, some clearly concerned, others masked in elusive threats or promises. The police and British ruling class became more worried as Horne slid closer to death. Some activists threatened a murderous, destructive rampage if Barry died. A hit list of 10 researchers who test on animals, out of some 150,000 in England, was issued by underground animal rights groups.

On December 5, day 60, the government again offered to talk about a solution. From his hospital bed, Horne, blind in one eye and barely able to hear, announced he was unwilling to give in to this attempt to break his strike. Press releases were sent out telling of Barry's upcoming death. Good-byes were said, and Horne was read his last rites. A note smuggled out of the

hospital stated his thoughts: "Words are cheap. Only actions really count. This is not for me, it is for every animal in every torture lab. We are creating a turning point, a moment in history that will be remembered. Never doubt

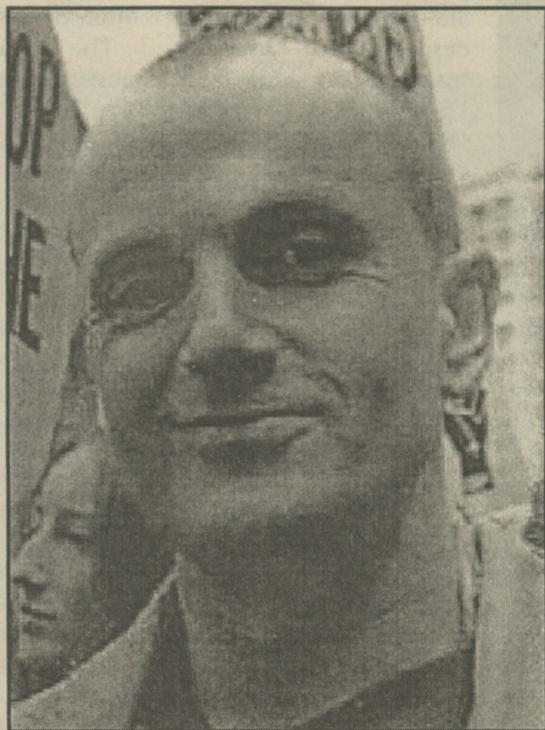
a step in the right direction. Starvation was taking its toll; Horne was unable to understand why he was hunger striking and began to suffer major hallucinations. After a brief visit from friends who tried to explain the situation to him, Horne was moved out of the hospital and back to prison.

On the 68th day, December 13, lethargic and obviously critically ill, Barry Horne completely forgot why he was striking. The emptiness in his stomach ate enough of his brain that cognitive thought ceased, and Barry Horne ended his fast. Just like you can't hold your breath until you die, Barry's instinct took over and saved his life.

Now Barry must survive the pain of healing. Doctors do not know if he will ever fully recover but suspect most of the damage to his body will eventually heal. Returning from the dead after having said all your good-byes is not an easy position. To die for the suffering and oppression of animals would be so valiant, but evidently it was not

Barry Horne's time. He will continue to influence activists with his strength. Keep fighting.

Send letters of support to Barry Horne, VC2141, HMP Full Sutton, Moor Lane, York, Yorks YO4 1PS, England; <http://www.animal-liberation/barry/index.html>.



Barry Horne

this. We will see an end to evil."

Four days later the head of the Associated Parliamentary Group for Animal Welfare, Ian Cawsey, issued a press release discussing a meeting in January to work on animal experimentation. It was not the solution Barry was looking for but was clearly

## FROM DEATH ROW... Abu-Jamal's Execution Date Looms

On October 30, Mumia Abu-Jamal was denied a final appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. A motion to rehear the ruling was swiftly denied. Mumia's attorney Leonard Weinglass has explained that the worst case scenario is that Mumia would be executed in May. International Concerned Friends of Mumia have called for a "Millions for Mumia" mass rally on March 24.

Protest has erupted in all parts of the globe denouncing Mumia's imminent execution. From Ireland to England, Africa to Germany, demonstrations have been loud and clear. Back home in North America, people in city after city have protested the death warrant. On December 5, over 150 citizens gathered in Montreal to protest at the US Consulate. They called for the freedom of Abu-Jamal as well as all other political prisoners. It ended with a ceremonial burning of the red, white and blue.

The state of Michigan was witness to numerous demonstrations. At a Lansing demo, peak attendance numbered around a hundred. Citizens called for freedom of Abu-Jamal as well as AIM activist Leonard Peltier. The American Indian Movement, the Michigan Mumia Support Coalition and the International Workers of the World were represented.

Many have been mobilizing for what is to come if the death warrant is signed. International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia has announced that there will be demonstrations in Philadelphia and other major cities when Governor Ridge signs the death warrant. The Saturday after that, there will be more protests. They are asking that if the warrant is signed on a weekday, demonstrators go to Philadelphia that Saturday. If the warrant is signed on a Friday, then go to Philadelphia the following Saturday. Converge on the State Office Building at Broad and Spring Garden Streets.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther who was framed on a murder charge in 1981. In 1995, when US authorities last tried to kill Abu-Jamal, international protests won him a stay of execution. You are urged to take action. Contact Governor Tom Ridge, 225 Capitol Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120; (717) 787-2500; fax 772-1198; US Attorney General Janet Reno, (202) 514-2000; fax 514-4371; District Attorney Lynn Abraham, 1421 Arch St., Philadelphia, PA 19101; (215) 686-8700; fax 686-8024. For updates or to help with the March 24, Millions for Mumia rally, contact International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, POB 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143; (215) 476-8812; fax 476-7551; [mumia@aol.com](mailto:mumia@aol.com); [www.mumia.org](http://www.mumia.org).

## Frontlines

### Animal Liberation Activists Pound Mink Farmers

Nearly 100 animal liberation activists came to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 9 for the International Mink Show, an annual gathering of mink farmers. The fur farmers were in town to discuss fur farms, disease outbreaks and the bleak future of the industry. Liberationists were in town to make a statement—if you want to slaughter mink for mere vanity, you will have to deal with powerful opposition.

The night before the action a group of activists decided to grab some drinks in a bar where fur farmers were expected to be. It didn't take long for the two groups to identify each other. One liberationist was heard asking the fur farmers, "Who is watching your farm tonight?"

Nearly a hundred protesters arrived for the action, many from places as far as Texas, Georgia and Washington DC. As one group picketed on the sidewalk in front of the conference center, another group found its way inside. Fur farmers watched in panic as a group of 12 masked activists ran towards the room they were in. Security managed to get the door shut and locked just as the liberationists crashed into it. The activists pounded on the doors and windows, disrupting the proceedings.

Milwaukee cops removed the protesters from the building, but as they were ejected, they were met by 30 reinforcements who wanted to go back inside. This led to confrontations with the police. Several protesters were thrown around, but no arrests were made.

Anti-fur forces deemed the action a major victory. The media reported the story well, with the message being on target, and the protesters managed to make a strong statement to those who would gas or break the necks of mink for nothing but human vanity and profit.

### Gardeners Decontaminate Genetic Corn Crop

A group of conservative gardeners calling itself the California Croppers held a tackle football match early Thanksgiving morning at the Gill Tract gardens near Berkeley, California, and in the process destroyed a crop of genetically engineered corn.

The Croppers took the opportunity to welcome Novartis, the biotechnology giant that just signed a multimillion dollar research deal with University of California—Berkeley, which owns and operates the land.

"As an informal welcome-wagon gesture, the Croppers would like to make it clear to Novartis that we will take similar actions against any future biotech experiments. Don't let our unseriousness make you think this isn't serious: The security of the world's food supply is at stake. Giant corporations have set mad scientists loose upon the world, and as responsible citizens and farmers, we have no choice but to stop them," said Captain Swing of the California Croppers.

The match was also meant as a Thanksgiving gift to Americans, whose feasts were estimated to be composed of 60-70 percent genetically engineered food products.

The rather pleasant and sporting activity of decontaminating fields of mutant crops is widespread in Europe and India. This is believed to be the first such anti-genetics action in the US since a crop of Frostban strawberries was pulled up in 1987 by Earth First!, an event which also took place in the Bay Area.



# UNION/ECO ALLIANCE COSTS HURWITZ HALF A MIL

BY WRECKIN' BALL

The familiar smell of coffee brewing filled the air of an abandoned building in Tacoma, Washington, on December 7. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies) and Olympia EFlers were

Enclosed in darkness, with high winds and heavy rain, several EFlers eased their way through the Port of Tacoma and swiftly ascended the only crane and conveyor belt that could be used by the scabs to unload the *Sea Diamond*, a 650-ton ore ship returning from Australia. One port security officer pulled his

gun on two support people on the crane, but Sid and Nancy refused to descend until "properly trained" cops arrived. They were both arrested. Others activists locked down in front of the rope anchor points to help protect the climbers.

As daylight exposed itself a picket line orga-

interview saying he had never seen dedication like this before. One climber was able to pop the quick release on his harness, but the other climber had to get scissors out of his pocket and cut the line that held him to the billowing banner. Safety tip #2: Always have a small knife or scissors on a climb. Our climbers ascended back to the floor of the conveyor belt for safety, avoiding the fire department's dangerous attempts to grab them from the fire ladder.

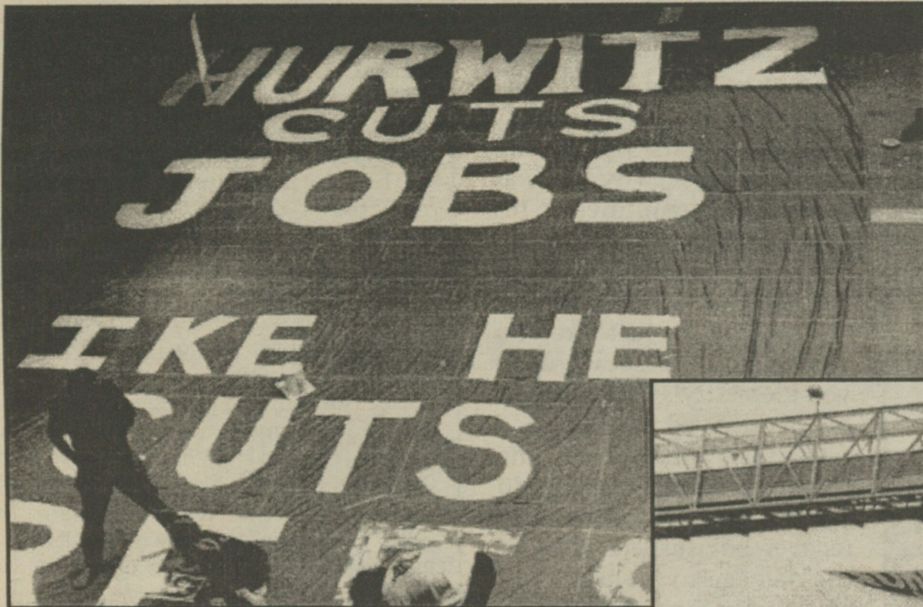
The wind carried on persistently, making it impossible for the climbers on the crane to deploy their banner. The cops agreed to cite and release them if they came down. Five people were issued citations and one escaped, while the supporters were free to go.

While this was going on, the ship's captain decided it was unsafe to bring the ship any closer to the port and ordered the anchor dropped. The anchored ship meant business as usual was disrupted, and unloading could not begin until the next morning at the earliest, thus costing Kaiser \$33,000. I could feel Judi Bari smiling in delight with the day's events.

It seems the union has more friends than it knew about, for the boat sat for many more days due to unexpected sabotage. The unions are calling the saboteurs "The Men in Black" and are very grateful for their work. In the process of unloading the ship the day after the action, workers discovered that a four-foot-wide conveyor belt used to transport the ore had been cut most of the way through. While attempting to repair the belt, a 13-foot gash appeared so that it had to be completely replaced, costing Kaiser much more time and money. Additionally, the wiring loom and hydraulic lines were sabotaged. It is clear that whoever did the latter damage to Kaiser's equipment knew exactly where the ship's weak points were, making it unlikely anyone with the USWA, Earth First! or the IWW was involved. With these combined actions the boat ended up in port for 24 days instead of the seven it normally takes to unload. Again, this cost Kaiser \$33,000 a day.

Olympia Earth First!, the IWW and the USWA have chosen to unite against a common villain, Charles Hurwitz, and his greedy corporation, Maxxam. The media described our new coalition as an unexpected and "odd alliance." But when you have one rich fuck such as Charles Hurwitz exploiting both his workers and the land, it's a natural coalition. Actions will continue until the workers' demands are met by Kaiser and PL gets out of Headwaters forest.

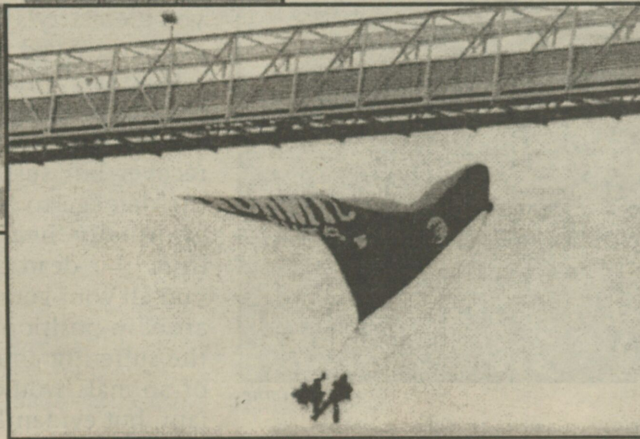
For more information on the strike contact Olympia EFl at POB 12391, Olympia, WA 98508; (541) 485-7333. For more information on Headwaters, contact Northcoast EFl at POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598; ncef@humboldt1.com.



Oooo... the best part—painting the banner

dispersed in small working groups gearing up for a special predawn action to support the steelworkers striking at Kaiser Aluminum. Kaiser Aluminum and Pacific Lumber (PL), the company cutting the Headwaters redwood groves, are both controlled by Maxxam. We all knew the morning's joint action would bewilder a number of people and, with any luck, give Charles Hurwitz (Maxxam's chief executive officer) well-earned ulcers to match his poor mental health. Well, merry Christmas and a happy New Year Charles: the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the IWW and forest activists have united to stop the destructive forces of Maxxam.

The December 7 action applied some long overdue pressure on both Hurwitz and Kaiser Aluminum by supporting the USWA, which has been on strike since September 1998. Kaiser's unwillingness to work with the union has been clearly demonstrated. Although '97 was a record-breaking year for the company in both production and profits, grossing \$168 million, it decided to eliminate over 400 jobs in five plants, cut pension funds and take medical care away from retired workers. Kaiser has been hiring scabs (temporary, non-union labor) from Pacific Lumber, which laid off 180 workers itself when it lost its 1998 timber operator's license due to criminal logging operations. As of December, Kaiser had already spent \$8 million to break the strike.



Not quite as fun... 45' banner, 50 mph winds—Whoa, Nelly!

nized by the union with the help of the IWW grew, and everyone waited for the boat. A union member at Brown's Point sighted the ship and notified us that it would be docking in 45 minutes. In response to the news, a flotilla of boats led by the Wobblies went to greet the *Sea Diamond*, informing the captain that the ship would not be allowed to enter the port.

Simultaneously, the activists on the crane's conveyor belt descended and unfurled a 45-foot banner from 150-feet up that read, "Hurwitz Cuts Jobs Like He Cuts Trees." Cheers went up from the crowd below as the climbers and banner slowly descended from the catwalk of the crane. But howling wind made a sail out of the banner, and the two climbers were tossed around like a salad. They looked like rag dolls. Safety tip #1: Never deploy a 45-foot banner in 50-mile-per-hour winds!

Silence fell on the port as activists, strikers, media folks and cops all looked up, wondering if the climbers were seriously hurt. One cop was quoted in a news

## Wolves & Poodles

A keen-eyed wolf to the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity for catching the Pinochio-nosed US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) in a lie. The USFWS sent out a press release announcing that the first habitat conservation plan (HCP) allowing the "take" of cactus ferruginous pygmy owls had been issued but that the plan would only allow temporary harassment, not the death of any endangered owls. The

Southwest Center, however, discovered that the HCP does authorize the killing of a pygmy owl. The USFWS retracted its press release the following day but had no coherent explanation as to why it misled the press or hid the authorization away in fine print.

A muckraking wolf to *Seattle Times* reporters Deborah Nelson, Jim Simon, Eric Nalder and Danny Westneat for their award-winning coverage of federal land trades. The journalists bagged the fifth annual Oakes Award for "distinguished environmental journalism" after publishing the six-part series entitled, "Trading Away the West," exposing the Forest Service and BLM's role in trading away pristine public lands for oftentimes cut-up, industry-abused stump lands (see article page 14). To complement their prized exposé, they tucked away \$5,000.

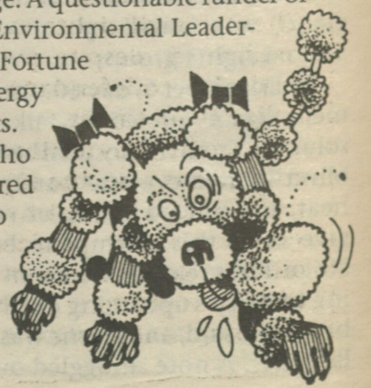


A poodle singing the blues to Shania Twain for striking the wrong chord with New York environmental officials. This country girl's wetlands boo-boo lightened up her wallet to the tune of \$25,000. She agreed to pay the fine and restore wetlands damaged in the construction of a recording complex on her 3,000-acre estate in the Adirondacks.

A conniving and fibbing poodle to lumberjack Robbie Freres, a notorious Willamette National Forest pillager, for claiming he "donated" a 31-foot noble fir to the Oregon Capitol for the state Christmas tree. After he was quoted in the paper saying he cut it on nearby public lands, local muckrakers tried to find the state stump. But the Forest Service couldn't tell them where it was because Freres never filled out a tree-removal permit. He also had no license to operate on public lands at the time. Oops, Santa knows if you've been naughty, nice or stealing Christmas trees from public lands. Reportedly, the big guy left coal under the tree for both Robbie and the Forest Service this merry year.

A poodle dyed green to the Pew Center for allowing Weyerhaeuser Company to sign on to its campaign to combat climate change. A questionable funder of enviros fighting the multinational, Pew's newest Environmental Leadership Council member will fit right in with other Fortune 500 companies, including auto manufacturers, energy and appliance companies and technology interests.

A double-helixed poodle to the authorities who arrested protesters yanking up genetically engineered maize in Devon, England. After charging two women with "conspiracy to cause criminal damage," ten other people arrested in the action had DNA samples taken from them and are still awaiting forensic results that will determine whether or not they will also be charged.





# NO CHARGES IN GYPSY'S DEATH

BY STRONG WOOD

No charges will be filed in the death of Earth First!er David "Gypsy" Chain, the Humboldt County district attorney (DA) announced December 17. DA Terry Farmer told reporters that a three-month investigation led him to conclude that Pacific Lumber logger Arlington E. Ammons did not know activists were still nearby when he cut the redwood that struck and killed Chain on September 17, 1998. Farmer also said he considered manslaughter charges against the seven other Earth First! activists who were with Chain when he died but concluded it was unlikely a jury would convict them.

"This proves what we've been saying all along, that the sheriff is incapable of conducting an unbiased investigation," said longtime EF!er Josh Brown. "They have completely sided with Pacific Lumber and the logger. It just shows that getting justice is next to impossible in Humboldt County if you're an Earth First!er. The video and eyewitness statements prove that A. E. Ammons knew what he was doing. He threatened to drop a tree in their direction and then did so. That's murder."

Farmer acknowledged the accusations of bias in the investigation and said he was willing all along to allow the state attorney general or the US attorney to take it over and had offered full cooperation if they did. But he said no other agency had indicated any desire to assume his responsibility. "I was hired to do this job," said Farmer, "The only way I can pass it off to someone else is if I feel I'm biased; I do not." As evidence that he is not biased in favor of big timber, Farmer pointed out that his office has brought charges against timber companies for logging violations.

But Brown said the DA's decision not to charge Ammons, "once again sends out the message that it's okay to hurt, brutalize and kill Earth First!ers and get away with it." He listed previous examples including the sheriff's use of pepper spray on nonviolent protesters, allegations of deputies roughing up and hurting demonstrators, and loggers cutting trees with people in them and beating up people on the ground, "all at the behest of the company."

The DA released a 12-page report listing about 40 sources of evidence and information, including activists and Pacific Lumber employees who were in the woods when Chain was killed, emergency personnel who responded, the hired logging consultant, the California Department of Forestry inspector, EF! video of the incident, a site visit by a deputy DA and even excerpts from KMUD radio interviews with the EF! witnesses. Farmer said all of that information would be available if a lawsuit was filed. David Chain's mother, Cindy Allsbrooks, and her attorney, Steve Schectman, have previously indicated they would probably file a wrongful death suit when the time was right.

A day after Farmer's ruling the death of David Chain an accident, Mrs. Allsbrooks called the findings "truly biased." She issued a written statement that said in part, "I am more determined than ever to continue in the direction of the truth. It is my belief that the truth is still yet to come."

To get involved or make donations to the David Chain legal fund, contact Northcoast Earth First! at POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598.



Gypsy at the Liberty tree sit, 1997

photo by Headwaters Video Action Collective

# HCP FIGHT GOES ON

BY HUGH MOROSE

Like a villain in a low-grade horror film, the Headwaters deal simply refuses to die. Its longevity is no surprise given the array of business and political heavyweights that gather around to resuscitate it whenever the going gets tough.

Just before the end of the year, a three-week high-level negotiating session, hosted once again by California Senator Dianne Feinstein, produced another Headwaters announcement on New Year's Eve. The newspapers dutifully reported that something had happened but what, exactly, remained unclear.

The announcement was indeed confusing. Department of Interior officials, accompanied by Feinstein, said that they were going to go ahead with writing a final Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) for Pacific Lumber Company, even though the company has not yet agreed to many of the provisions of the plan. State and federal agencies had recommended changes following the receipt of tremendous amounts of public comment on the plan and the rest of the Headwaters deal, but Pacific Lumber balked at incorporating many of the changes. A congressional deadline for expenditure of the federal funding associated with the deal looms on March 1, 1999, and federal officials apparently had little choice but to proceed with writing the final documents.

This is confusing because an HCP, under the Endangered Species Act, is basically the centerpiece of an application for a permit to legally kill endangered species and destroy otherwise protected habitat. HCPs were designed to be written by private landowners and other entities, then presented to federal wildlife agencies for approval or denial.

In this case, the HCP written by Pacific Lumber was clearly unacceptable. The tremendous volume and scientific credibility of public comment demonstrated that fact beyond any doubt. However, because of immense political pressure to complete the proposed Headwaters purchase, federal officials refused to deny the plan even as Pacific Lumber refused to change it. Instead, they chose to take matters into their own hands by writing a plan they felt could be approved.

This decision created the unprecedented, absurd and legally questionable spectacle of a permitting agency writing an application for a permit applicant, then waiting for the applicant to make up its mind about whether to accept the permit conditions. By any account, this is entirely backwards.

Details of the HCP now being written are sketchy. According to Department of Interior officials, the plan does make a few improvements based primarily on the California Legislature's conditions for spending state money on the Headwaters transaction. These generally account for larger buffer zones along streams where logging is prohibited pending a site-specific "watershed analysis" process, to be conducted over the next three years.

Some further changes based on public comment, including 30-foot buffer zones along small, seasonal streams, will reportedly be incorporated into the plan. On balance, however, much of the public outcry over the Headwaters deal and a good portion of the sound scientific analysis of the HCP were simply ignored. Under this deal, thousands of acres of virgin and residual ancient forest will still be liquidated just as quickly as Maxxam can cut. Given this reality, the ecological price of the Headwaters deal is still far, far too high.

## FBI Day of Reckoning Draws Near in Bari Case

### JUDGE SAYS STALLING MUST END

A federal magistrate ordered the FBI to provide further evidence to lawyers in the Judi Bari/Darryl Cherney civil rights case on December 16, despite pending appeals by codefendant Oakland Police Department.

Using the delay tactic seen repeatedly in this case, the city attorney has appealed a district court decision denying the Oakland police officers "qualified immunity" for their conduct during the 1990 car bombing investigation of the two

Earth First! activists. The appeal, now pending before the 9th Circuit Court, has already delayed the setting of a trial date for almost a year, and the FBI's refusal to cooperate until the appeal is resolved has compounded the effects of that delay.

Giving a verbal preview of his decision, Judge James Larson said the FBI must respond to written interrogatories and that a number of depositions will be allowed, although with clear restrictions to protect Oakland's interest. The court made clear that it

isn't going along with the FBI's attempt to bring everything to a halt until the appeal is settled—a clear victory for the Earth First! legal team.

Larson also considered a request to question William Sessions, FBI director at the time of the bombing, about his direct communication with representatives of Maxxam's chief executive officer Charles Hurwitz. Documents in the case refer to a conversation between Sessions and Hurwitz about Earth First!'s "militancy." Judge Larson said he was not inclined to allow the deposition at this time, but it remains an open issue.

We also received good news on the

appeal itself. At this moment we are awaiting final word on a date for oral arguments. We'll be back in court maybe as soon as the second week of February. The case is moving ahead again on all fronts, and the day of reckoning for the FBI and Oakland Police is within reach. Justice for Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney!

For more information on the civil rights lawsuit or the 1990 car bombing, contact Redwood Summer Justice Project, POB 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402; (707) 887-0262; bari@monitor.net.

—REDWOOD SUMMER JUSTICE PROJECT



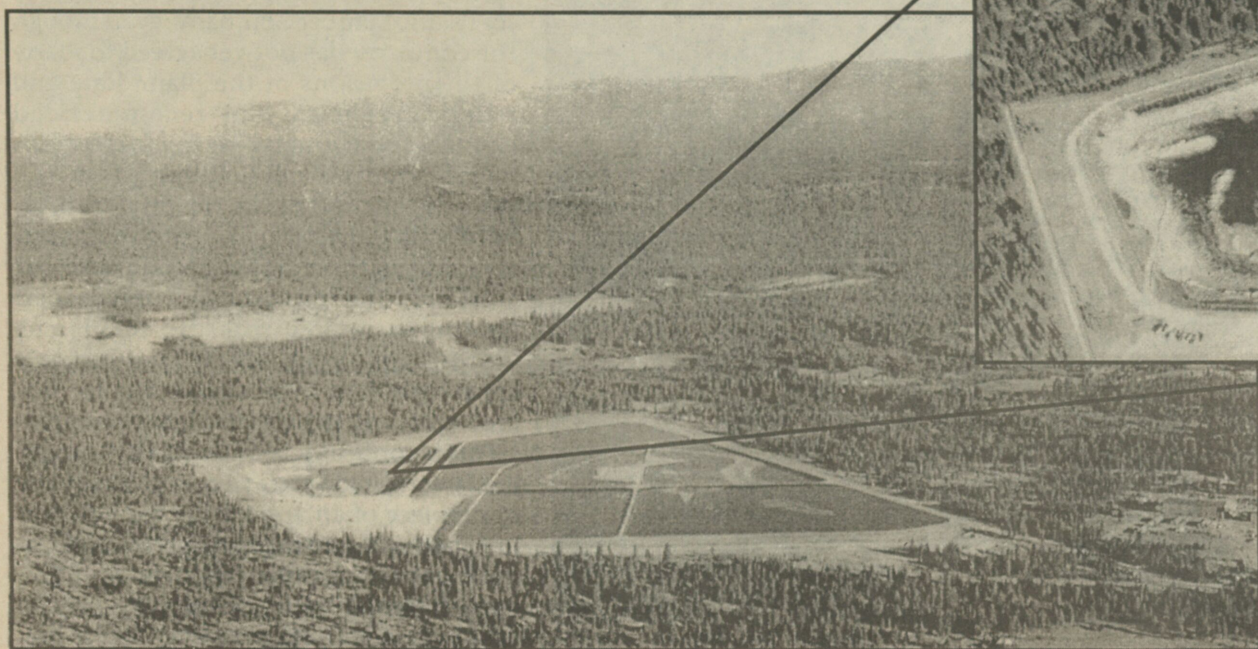
# THE FUTURE OF MINE RECLAMATION

## Company Calls Toxic Dumping Restoring a Uranium Mill

BY ESTAR HOLMES, DAWN WATCH

Dawn, one of the most glorious phenomena in creation, was appropriated in the '50s to name a uranium mining operation extracting ore for nuclear bombs and power from the heart of the Spokane Indian Reservation. This twist of meaning was a sign of things to come. In 1981, after milling operations ceased, the Dawn Mining Company's parent, Newmont, started using similar Orwellian slight of tongue to squirm out of actually cleaning up its mill site, located on the border of the reservation. In-

Newmont has tried to keep the issue local, but the Dawn dump would be the nation's first successful mill-to-dump conversion. As early as 1990, Spokane Tribal Chairman Warren Seyler predicted that if Newmont is allowed to get out of its clean-up responsibilities, other mining companies will demand the same consideration. As it turns out Umetco Minerals Inc. tried it unsuccessfully in Colorado in 1994, and the Quivara Mining Company wants to dispose of radioactive material at its Ambrosia Lake facility near Grants, New Mexico. Unlike Washington, the



Evaporation ponds for contaminated water at the Dawn Mill—to be replaced with 20 million cubic feet of toxic dirt.

stead, Newmont, the most lucrative gold mining company in the nation, advocates cleaning up by getting dirtier.

In the years since the mine and mill closed, the local community, which has consistently opposed the dumping scheme, has been showered with a barrage of semantic contortions as Newmont promotes its plan to convert the old uranium mill, 35 miles northwest of Spokane, Washington, into a radioactive dump. The plan is to sell space in a gigantic 28-acre, 70-foot-deep hole at the Dawn site to parties possessing radioactive dirt. In its clever machinations, Newmont has made the word "dump" synonymous with "clean up," turned public outcry into so-called strong community support and steamrolled the whole process into a supposed "win-win" situation.

Newmont's plan promotes the transport of radioactive dirt by train from as far away as Tonawanda, New York, to Spokane, where a convoy of 36 five-axle trucks would complete the trip out of town and down a winding two-lane country road every day for the next five years. That's a loaded truck every 12 minutes.

The environmental impacts of hauling 20 million cubic feet of radioactive dirt across the United States to the site were never assessed during the environmental impact statement process. The site itself sits above the Walkers Prairie Aquifer, which has already been contaminated by Dawn's uranium milling operations. In 1989 the Washington state health department ordered Dawn to pump millions of gallons of water out of the aquifer to remove uranium and sulfate contamination. This water is now evaporating from plastic-lined ponds stretched over 100 acres of the Dawn site.

The Spokane Tribe has initiated several lawsuits opposing the dump, citing a threat to tribal waters under the reservation. Dawn Watch has also fought the plan in court. But in June 1998 Dawn Watch's bid to force the state to abide by its own administrative code, which prohibits dumping radioactive waste from an outside supplier on private property, failed. Though the tribe recently filed a discrimination suit in federal court in relation to the dumping scheme, the only thing stopping Newmont from opening its dump is that it has not successfully bid on any toxic dirt.

state of Utah is exercising some foresight and asking the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to reconsider a decision to send 25,000 cubic yards of radioactive tailings to the White Mesa Mill, near Blanding, Utah. The material would come from Tonawanda, New York, one of the sites Dawn has been wooing for its radioactive treasures.

Meanwhile, Newmont and the Department of Health are still insisting the Dawn site isn't really a dump. However, American Ecology, parent of US Ecology, the commercial low-level waste manager at the Hanford, Washington, nuclear plant has been selected as Dawn's first choice to oversee the dumping. US Ecology and American Ecology were recently the subjects of a Government Accounting Office study sparked by concerns over the proposed low-level waste dump in Ward Valley, California, which US Ecology was promoting. The study says American Ecology has disposed of significantly larger amounts of plutonium at Hanford than had previously been identified and that a similar scenario occurred at its Nevada and Kentucky sites. Radioactive material has leaked from all of these facilities.

For all the fearsome ways that the Dawn dump is a warning of things to come, it is also just the most recent example of an established pattern—a low-level nuclear waste dump proposed on Mojave land at Ward Valley, California; toxic waste dumps in one of Texas' poorest Hispanic communities; a nuclear waste repository on the Western Shoshone's Yucca Mountain; and now a toxic dump next to the Spokane Indian tribe.

But there's reason to believe the bad guys will finish last. Working in coalition, Natives, locals and Earth First!ers were able to defeat the dumps at Ward Valley and Sierra Blanca. May Newmont be next and Yucca Mountain follow closely on its heels.

Though the dump could open at any time, its current license expires on February 28, 1999. The Department of Health is currently accepting public comment relating to the relicensing of the mill site as a disposal facility for radioactive dirt.

Send comments to Gary Robertson, Department of Health, Division of Radiation Protection, POB 47827, Olympia, WA 98504-7827.

Contact Dawn Watch at POB 193, Springdale, WA 99173; (509) 747-3552; aloafofbread@yahoo.com; www.dawnwatch.org.

# Logging Costs

## Taylor Millions

BY BEN DOON, ANCIENT FOREST RESCUE

For years Colorado's Taylor Ranch has not only been home to the largest logging operation in the country but has also hosted Colorado's Ranching for Wildlife program. The program entitles the Taylor family to sell hunting permits to out-of-state big game hunters, at a pretty \$5,000 profit for every elk taken. Over the last few years, Taylor has made millions of dollars on out-of-staters wanting that "10 point" rack hanging above their mantle.

The Ranching For Wildlife program, operated by the Colorado Department of Wildlife (CDOW) was designed "to give incentives to participating ranch owners" that "protect wildlife habitat." Among the Colorado environmental community, however, the CDOW has a tarnished reputation. Its old-school conservation techniques range from requiring clearcuts for "habitat improvement," to erecting huge wildlife fences to protect the "private interests" of its wealthy land-owning clientele. But it seems that

even the CDOW cannot stomach Taylor's logging anymore. After years of requesting that Taylor change his ways, the CDOW has finally pulled the plug. In November the agency said the Taylor Ranch could no longer benefit from its Ranching for Wildlife program because the logging is destroying critical wildlife habitat. CDOW's diplomatic press release says, "The logging was not contributing to elk habitat," "Logging road construction did not meet best management practices," and, "The roads created a good deal of erodible material that had not been stabilized." Taylor is now desperately trying to get that precious money flow back.

For those of us in Ancient Forest Rescue/Culebra EFL, it often seems like our voices have been lost in the void. Now, even the mainstreamers can't overlook the disaster that is destroying this homeland, and our years of cries are now falling on listening ears.

For more information contact Culebra EFL, POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152; (719) 672-3012 afr@amigo.net.

# ACTIVISTS HIT WITH RRR TIX

BY PAM REBER

A month after the 1998 Round River Rendezvous (RRR) in the Umpqua National Forest, two Cascadian activists received \$250 citations for our "lack of special-use permit." The "Rainbow" law requires special-use permits when groups of 75 or more people gather on public land. The 1998 RRR committee met all parameters of the permit but were unable to produce a signature for the accommodating Forest Service agents assigned to our event. The less cooperative law enforcement office of the US Forest Service was the actual source of the expensive citation.

Rainbow law specialist Brian Michaels of Eugene is representing the activists, who are fighting the citation. Michaels won a court case that overturned a previous version of this law, but the feds rewrote it. The new version of the regulation will be fought in court in March 1999. Primarily, it is the Rainbow family that has been charged under this statute, but if you are aware of any other precedent with this new regulation, please let us know. To help with information or send donations for legal fees, write to SWEFL, POB 10725, Eugene, OR 97440. (Make checks out to SWEFL)



# PIPELINING ALASKA'S COASTLINE

BY BUCKWHEAT AND SÖREN

"That's the stupidest thing I ever heard, a pipeline on the mud flats!" Such was the typical response of Anchorage, Alaska, citizens watching cops slip and slide on the mud flats as they approached protesters hanging from two 30-foot tall tripods.

This mud flats project would turn three and a half miles of coastline along Cook Inlet into a pipeline corridor to run jet fuel from Anchorage's port to airport. The pipeline goes past an area known as Earthquake Park and across famously unstable mud flats. In other words, it's a spill waiting to happen.

The corporation building the 12-inch-wide pipeline, Anchorage Fueling and Service Company, is not required to identify and remove contamination when it decommissions its old six-inch pipe. The older fuel line is being replaced by the mud flats route because it's leaking and it can't satiate the Anchorage airport's ever-growing thirst for fuel.

Although there was nearly unanimous public opposition at hearings on the coastal route, two environmental organizations signed-off on the mud flats location (the cheapest and most efficient route for the developer). They were bribed with "mitigation" money from the developer that will pay the municipality for a fish weir and a small parcel of wetlands across town. A last minute attempt to get a green law firm to file a suit fell through, even though no environmental impact statement was conducted for the project, which runs through prime wetland and migratory bird habitat.

On October 13, the Alaska Action Center decided to stand up for Anchorage citizens and their public coast. "We did this for the North Slope, the Prince William Sound and all of Alaska's wild ecosystems that are being degraded for the sake of corporate oil interests," said the group.

Struggling in the mud to prop up the spruce pole and steel tripods took Herculean effort, but by dawn we stood back in amazement (so did the press and the 20-odd police officers who arrived later). The tripods and the banner between them reading, "Don't Pipeline Our Coastline," were visible from

the entire west end of downtown Anchorage.

Though direct action is new to Alaska, oil controversy and disasters are not. Conservation groups, fishers, natives and others opposed the building of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline in the early 1970s. Over time, thousands of gallons of toxic fuel have spilled from the pipeline and operations on Alaska's North Slope. Coastal fishing communities and wildlife will not soon forget the Exxon Valdez, the 11-million-gallon-plus oil spill whose inky legacy remains even 10 years later. In Cook Inlet about 350-500 beluga whales face extinction due to toxic wastes from oil drilling rigs, near-shore refineries, shipping accidents and untreated sewage, in addition to over-hunting and other causes.

"Direct action in Alaska gives us the opportunity to draw attention to the plunder of our awesome state," said members of the Alaska Action Center. After 12 hours and a frightening high tide in which the legs of the tripods began to "swim" in the liquefying mud, the two protesters came down into the anxious arms of police officers.

Days later the same mud proved similarly unstable for the developers. As they tried to lay the pipe, the trackhoes and skidders sunk and their tracks rotated helplessly. The trackhoes were left to claw themselves along with their shovels. One sank to its arm, just yards from where we had held our tripod protest. It took four others to push and pull the leviathan free.

In recent weeks, the construction company Conam, or more appropriately Conman, has had to use helicopters to help lay the pipe. Conman, more than a month behind schedule, is frantically trying to finish and is easily way over budget.

The Alaska Action Center grabbed media attention for weeks following the protest. The only group to challenge the project, the Action Center continues to monitor construction and record many permit violations.

The Alaskan Action Center, a citizen group, is



These little piggies don't seem to like the mud.

newly formed and in need of in-kind donations, money and activists. Spring and summer training and action camps will occur throughout the state. Industrial oil development, logging, hunting and mining threaten Alaska from the Tongass to the North Slope. Massive roadbuilding also threatens local communities. See you next spring.

For more information on direct action and environmental concerns in Alaska contact the Alaska Action Center at POB 230916, Anchorage, AK 99523; (907) 2-PUBLIC (ask for Sören); fishtree@hotmail.com.

## ANIMAL PROTECTION OFFICE SPRAYED WITH SHOTGUN FIRE

Sometime during the weekend of December 5-6, 1998, the Santa Fe offices of Animal Protection of New Mexico (APNM) were sprayed with shotgun fire. No one was injured but a gaping hole was left in the front window, and shots were imbedded in the door and a wall. One computer was damaged. Shotgun pellets and shards of glass were scattered about the room.

APNM, a statewide animal rights organization that wages hard-hitting campaigns by forming powerful and diverse coalitions, was just concluding its first regional conference, a highly successful and visible event held in Albuquerque, when the shooting occurred. About 350 people attended the conference. APNM also recently announced a boycott of Santa Fe stores carrying furs and released a report indicting the Forest Service for running an abysmal northern New Mexico roadside zoo, called the Ghost Ranch Living Museum. In addition, APNM is pressuring the Shrine Circus to cancel an upcoming animal circus and is promoting a campaign to make animal cruelty a felony in New Mexico.

"We have received two threatening letters in the last year and a half, and those were related to our work on wildlife issues," said Lisa Jennings, APNM executive director. "But the attack could have been a result of any of a variety of our campaigns." The notes were all signed MM. One note sent directly to Jennings said, "You

are approaching a point where we will have to hurt you. We are going to make a concerted effort to kill any wolf reintroduced into [the] wild and poison bison as long as you interfere with wildlife issues." It was sent only one week after Jennings urged stronger protection for cougars and supported wolf reintroduction at a Game Commission meeting in Farmington, New Mexico.

Less than a week after the shooting, an underground group calling itself the Minutemen claimed responsibility for the shooting by sending a postcard with APNM's initials, shotgun spray and the message "MM was here." Very little is known about the group, but they are thought to be an extreme, very violent right-wing militia group.

Though there is a broad spectrum of beliefs within the extreme right movement, many militia groups see environmental/animal rights work as a threat to their survival. Many believe there is a government conspiracy to destroy the sovereignty of the United States and relinquish land controls to the United Nations (UN). They believe that people like Ted Turner, who just donated \$1 billion to the UN, want to return the continent to pre-1492 condition by reintroducing bison and wolves and that Americans will be rounded up and put in concentration camps. They see ecological and animal rights work as part of this grand conspiracy. Challenges to "hunting rights"

are seen as particularly egregious.

In another note to Jennings, MM wrote, "We are a group that will not put up with your anti-hunting agenda. If you initiate any proposal next year to hurt the NM hunter, you will witness the systematic destruction of NM endangered and threatened species. If you hurt us, you hurt yourself. We are willing to use any means to preserve our heritage. Species can be eliminated without firing a shot. If we can't hunt them, you can't see them." This rhetoric is particularly interesting because efforts to protect the Gila trout were recently thwarted when someone introduced a competing fish into a river with the endangered trout.

Understanding extreme right politics does not mean activists have to

alter their work. They may simply want to take more precautions. Despite the notes and the shootings, APNM has no intention of backing off its vocal campaigns to expose animal abuse. "We won't be intimidated by these cowardly acts of violence. We are an organization that works on important issues, calling for our violent society to be more humane. The perpetrators are bullies. This kind of violence only strengthens our resolve to continue our work," said Jennings.

For more information or to send support, contact the APNM at POB 11395, Albuquerque, NM 87192; (505) 265-2488; fax 265-2488; AnimalNM@aol.com.

—ANIMAL PROTECTION OF NEW MEXICO

## ACTIVIST HOME TORCHED

In early October, the home of Rebecca Hunt was burned to the ground. Hunt is a strong, vocal opponent of Big Coal back in Appalachia and is especially involved with the campaign against the hideous "mountain top removal" method of coal extraction (see *EFJ* September-October 1998). Fortunately she and her daughter were not in their West Virginia residence at the time of the fire. Investigators have all but dismissed arson as the cause, believing the incident was due to faulty wiring. But a series of increasingly threatening instances of harassment preceding the fire make Hunt and others believe otherwise. Hunt and her daughter are currently lodged in a motel sorting out the remains of the suspicious fire. Send your prayers their way and any contributions if possible. Support may be sent to Rebecca Hunt, c/o West Virginia Organizing Project, POB 1921, Logan, West Virginia 25601; (304) 752-0901; scb91649@mail.wvnet.edu.



# LAND EXCHANGES Corporate Timber Grabs

BY ROBIN HOOD

Under the canopy of old ponderosa pines and Douglas fir a marten pauses, scenting the air in its quest for sustenance. Young pileated woodpeckers call incessantly for food from their nest in an old pine snag. A half-mile away a goshawk swoops towards an unsuspecting ground squirrel as it scampers through shooting stars and blue camas flowers. An olive-sided flycatcher, who arrived from South America but a few weeks ago, perches atop a tall pine, taking a momentary break from feeding forays for its young. The early morning forest is filled with the songs of vireos, pee wees, flycatchers, sparrows, wrens and chickadees. A rufous hummingbird flits amongst the many flowers of spring. At the edge of a meadow still wet with the last melting snows of winter a wolverine pauses, satiated from its feasting on an elk, killed and cached by a cougar.

Though this area has remained untouched by the "managing" hand of modern humans for centuries, it will soon be torn and rent by the roaring steel engines of bulldozers, chainsaws, skidders and trucks if the federal land agencies have their way. Unbeknownst to the wildlife, whose territories are defined by their travels and the travails of survival, the forest in which they live has been proposed for "disposal" by the federal agency entrusted with its care. It is part of over 90,000 acres of public Bureau of Land Management (BLM) lands in northeastern Oregon to be traded for 70,000-plus acres of private lands in the Northeast Oregon Assembled Land Exchange. This forested "parcel," like thousands of acres of others, is to be traded to a timber corporation for logged-over land filled with stumps and sparse seedlings deemed "more important" and "easier to manage."

Land exchanges of public lands for primarily cut-over corporate "timberlands" are the growing rage among corporate profiteers and their government servants across the Western US.

**At bottom, beneath the piles of agency EIS papers, this trade is just another chance to log ancient forests on public lands for corporate profits.**

Indeed, these exchanges are touted as good for the economy and the environment by a pathetic alliance of corporations, government agencies and mainstream "environmentalists."

For years corporate timber has given little thought to cutting sustainably. The moonscape legacy they have made of their own land is well known, as is the logged, fragmented devastation they have helped wreak upon public forestlands.

Consequently, as activists have slowed or stopped some logging of old-growth forest habitat on public lands, corporate timber's appetite has increased. With land exchanges they have created a way to get around federal laws protecting wildlife, forest habitat and water quality. Essentially, timber sales are being disguised as land exchanges—private stumps for public trees.

With the color-coded maps of "disposal" and "acquisition" lands, the exchange often resembles some nightmare corporate Monopoly game from hell. The game essentially goes something like this: Road, clearcut or heavily log all the trees that can be economically accessed on private corporate lands, then trade them for publicly owned old-growth forests. These forests are then logged at a profit while the public pays the tab for restoration on the newly acquired devastated lands.

The exchange process itself is usually controlled by the timber corporations or a for-profit land exchange corporation (often created with "seed money" from the timber corporations). Clearwater Land Exchange, a profit-seeking venture reputedly started with money from Boise Cascade and Louisiana Pacific, initiated and has now been designated facilitator of the Northeast Oregon Land Exchange by the BLM. In a February 15, 1996 letter from Clearwater to the BLM

(obtained through a Freedom of Information Act request), the for-profit venture clearly states whose interests it represents, telling the BLM, "Remember the timber companies control the transaction and can only be satiated with the federal timber lands."

Most of the land exchanges involve federal welfare subsidies for the corporations in the form of "cost-share" agreements, and the northeast Oregon exchange is no exception. The federal government will pay Clearwater half the costs of land surveys and timber assessments. In addition, all administrative costs will be assumed fully by the BLM. The exchange will cost the federal government an estimated \$870,000. Meanwhile, Clearwater stands to reap millions of profits—at the expense of wildlife, ecological heritage and taxpayers.



industry land, under-appraising federal public lands and misrepresenting the amount of actual old-growth forests being traded away from public ownership as well as the actual conditions of the industry lands being acquired. In the Northeast Oregon Land Exchange the BLM is complicit in such misrepresentations. The actual amount of old-growth forest to be traded is more than four times that reported in the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) itself for the exchange.

In order to make these huge logging operations disguised as land exchanges palatable to mainstream enviro-groups, they are usually presented as achieving various conservation goals, much like the "forest health/salvage" hoax. A common ruse used to frosting coat these illegal schemes is the elimination of "difficult to manage," "isolated" parcels of public land in order to "consolidate public lands into large blocks of contiguous habitat." Often, the supposed isolated parcels are in reality adjacent to other publicly owned lands. In this case, the BLM lands are adjacent to national forests and state lands.

In northeast Oregon an additional pretense is being used to justify the exchange: achieving public ownership over large sections of important salmonoid waterways in the John Day River system. However, not only is most of the industry land already logged, many of the publicly owned ancient forests to be traded are at the headwaters of tributaries to this river system. The EIS fails to assess or disclose the devastating sedimentation that would result from logging these headwaters forests.

Serious flaws also exist in the "logic" of consolidating public land holdings by trading isolated, difficult to manage parcels. Precisely because

many of these isolated areas have not been managed, they often provide excellent centuries-old habitat. Many of these areas serve as dispersal habitat and connecting corridors between larger blocks of habitat. They fill an irreplaceable role by providing foraging, nesting and dispersal habitat; clear, cool waters; and stopover areas for far-ranging wildlife such as wolverines, migrating birds and potentially wolves, as well as elk, deer and wild horses.

While the many issues arising in these land exchange proposals may at first seem complicated, the more one looks through the misrepresentations, outright lies and justifications made by federal agencies and corporate profiteers, the more a single simple issue clearly emerges. At bottom, beneath the piles of agency EIS papers, this trade is just another chance to log ancient forests on public lands for corporate profits. Some of the exchanges currently being fought are:

- Huckleberry Mountain/Weyerhaeuser Exchange—near Seattle, Washington, it includes land originally traded to Weyerhaeuser in a previous exchange, which was then clearcut and traded back to public ownership for yet more ancient forest.

- Plum Creek/I-90 Exchange—also near Seattle, Washington, it was pushed through as a congressional rider by Senator Gorton (R-WA) on the recent appropriations bill. Supporters include the Sierra Club, whose local officials were won over by the inclusion of corporate lands near the Alpine Lakes Wilderness area. This exchange would result in the logging of two ancient forest roadless areas in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest—unless your opposition helps stop it!

- Triangle Land Exchange—it would trade 4,863 acres of Forest Service lands in northeast Oregon for 7,410 acres of private and timber industry lands. Again Clearwater Land Exchange is the proponent, and public old-growth forests would be traded away to be logged.

- Land Exchange WAOR 50525—located in northeast Washington, it traded 4,500 acres of mostly forested land, much of it containing old-growth forest, to timber

companies in exchange for mostly shrub-steppe habitat. The trade was between the BLM and Clearwater Land Exchange. It was found to be illegal by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, but the BLM and Clearwater had already exchanged land titles, rendering the decision moot on all but four parcels where the deeds had not yet been exchanged.

Other land exchanges are occurring or have occurred from Arizona to Montana, Colorado to the Pacific Coast. They are part of the continuing saga of usurpation, a saga of cold, corporate greed. Left in its wake is devastation—stumps, mudslides, extinctions and vanishing ancient forests. Land exchanges, like corporations, are just another manifestation of this insanity.

So what can we do? As with all things, power exists in action, not in mere words alone. Power exists in connecting with the land itself, with nature. It exists in educating others and together taking creative, inspirational actions and risks in support of life—of living earth. If you live near any of these trades, get to know the land, help document, hike and educate. Take action at the offices of the "just doing my job" bureaucrats who would so readily offer up these lands for trade and destruction. Act against the corporate-owned politicians who assist such corrupt folly. And go directly to the corporations themselves, to their subsidiaries, their offices, their homes, their yachts and private clubs. Take nonviolent, creative direct actions.

For more information on land exchanges contact: Western Land Exchange, POB 95545, Seattle, WA 98145-2545. Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project, HCR 82, Fossil, OR 97830. Also write or take creative actions against the following: USDA Forest Service, 14 and Independence SW, Washington DC 20250; US Department of the Interior, Office of the Inspector General, 1849 C Street NW, Mail Stop 5340, Washington, DC 20240; (202) 208-5745. Council on Environmental Quality, 722 Jackson Place, Washington DC, 20502; (202) 456-6224.



# -VAIL ARSON-

## Colorado Activists Face Grand Jury

BY BEN DOON, ANCIENT FOREST RESCUE

The fires on Vail Mountain continue to burden nonviolent environmental activists in Colorado in the form of FBI harassment. Dozens of people have been contacted by the feds as the situation becomes increasingly serious. Three months have gone by since the night of October 19, 1998, and the federal investigation of the arson has evolved from casual phone conversations to grand jury subpoenas.

Ancient Forest Rescue (AFR) has openly opposed Vail Associates' (VA) Category III expansion into the Two Elk Roadless Area for almost four years now. Activists, skiers, students and Vail

one reportedly worn by a lone hitchhiker leaving Vail soon after the fires were set.

Currently, the FBI is using its best harassment techniques on college students. The FBI approached two women who work for a University environmental group. When they refused to cooperate, their supervisor was questioned. He was asked by the feds why the girls wouldn't cooperate. He replied, because they fear COINTELPRO, the famous intelligence program created by the FBI to disrupt the activity of social radicals. When the meeting ended, the feds stated, "You can tell those girls we are not going away."

**...the FBI harassment has been very difficult. For many people in Colorado the campaign to stop Super Vail was their first introduction to the environmental movement. Now, thanks to the arson, they are suffering...**

Valley locals formed a unique coalition to stop corporate intrusion onto our public land. Side by side, concerned citizens from all over Colorado stood up and spoke out to the US Forest Service and Vail Associates with the message that the expansion is unacceptable. However, everything the coalition has achieved since 1995 crumbled to the barest of foundations when the media reported that supposed environmentalists were responsible for the fire. The governor of Colorado denounced the arson as an act of terrorism and an open season on people known to be opposed to Vail's plan commenced.

The FBI's investigation began with phone calls to longtime environmental activists in Colorado. Timber sale appeal experts and others who fight the industrial invasion of Colorado wildlands through the National Environmental Protection Act process received phone calls within the first week after the fires. The general response was, "I have no comment; you can call my lawyer."

During the next few weeks Vail Valley locals began to receive phone calls from Ole Johnny Law. Most locals, unfamiliar with the FBI's infamous harassment and coercion techniques, agreed to speak with the feds under specified terms. The FBI and ATF interrogators proceeded to ignore their promises. One local businessman agreed to speak about the history of Vail with a lawyer present, but the feds insisted upon asking about other people. After our friend repeatedly stated he would not dignify the inquiry with answers, the feds stormed out of the room. Another local, whose recent participation in the anti-expansion campaign was limited to attending a slide show, agreed to meet with the feds. Again the questions were focused on who's who and again the interview went nowhere.

At this point any semblance of patience by the FBI began to erode and intimidation tactics began snowballing. One Vail Valley anti-expansion supporter was approached by an ATF officer on the street in Vail and was told his jacket looked suspiciously like

A few weeks later the FBI began snooping around another corner of the state and probed into the lives of other university students. One woman became a target of serious intimidation and isolation. Her friends were approached; her boss was questioned for three hours, and her professors were visited. Her environmental ethics professor was asked to produce all the papers handed-in during the semester by this woman. The feds insinuated she was a terrorist and wanted to know about her lifestyle. After all that they finally knocked on her door.

As a Happy New Year greeting, the FBI began issuing subpoenas to activists to appear in front of a grand jury on January 28. The first person to receive a subpoena was approached in Boston while visiting her parents during the holidays. They followed her while she dropped her mom off at work and approached her while she was taking garbage to the dump, wearing only pajamas and an overcoat.

While we are all confident of our innocence, the FBI harassment has been very difficult. For many people in Colorado the campaign to stop Super Vail was their first introduction to the environmental movement. Now, thanks to the arson, they are suffering under the burden of an investigation unprecedented here in Colorado. Our strength is our solidarity, and our belief is steadfast that the real victim of the fires and the ensuing investigation is the Two Elk Roadless Area and the pristine forests that will soon be tamed into the resort lifestyle.

To support AFR contact us at POB 762, San Luis, Colorado 81152; (719) 672-3012; afr@amigo.net.



# GANDALF

## THANK YOU AND GOODNIGHT

BY DR. SAXON WOOD

On November 24, UK Animal Liberation Front press officer Robin Webb and Paul Rogers, general editor of *Green Anarchist*, walked out of court free men after their first day on trial for what can best be described as a thought crime.

The British state was trying to prosecute Webb and Rogers for "conspiracy to incite persons unknown to criminal damage and arson," charges for which they could have possibly spent the rest of their lives in prison! Their charges were not for crimes that ever happened, just ones the defendants may wish would happen.

Stupid? Yes. Impossible? Surely, but as strange as it may seem, Noel Molland, Steve Booth and myself had already been convicted of the same charges and sentenced to prison for *three years* (see *EFJ*, December-January '98). We were freed on bail after four and a half months, something that doesn't happen often in the UK.

Our conviction was quashed in July '98, but the comedy of errors didn't end there. The legal points we won our appeal on had to do with the fact that the language in the indictments was wrong. Therefore the conviction couldn't really be quashed, since we hadn't legally stood trial. Because of this, the court was forced to free the other two so-called "coconspirators," Webb and Rogers. This was pretty much par for the course in a strange case that had been hanging over the heads of some of the defendants since January 1995.

The well-known GANDALF case involved the content of publications from two different news sources, the Animal Liberation Front Support Group (ALFSG) newsletter and the *Green Anarchist* newspaper, which historically had very little to do with each other (although Noel Molland had written articles for both). Evidently, the police had problems with the alternative information service they offered, which had the effect of undermining the monopoly the police had over the distribution of news on the subjects of radical animal liberation and green issues.

The prosecution had sought to make words like "direct action" illegal and argued that the animal/earth liberation stories we published were "inciting" because they portrayed the actions as good news. Even the content of book reviews and the slogans on the t-shirts we sold were presented as evidence of our intention to incite at the first trial, which lasted nearly 12 weeks and saw three go to prison and Simon Russell of the ALFSG newsletter found not guilty.

The original trial outraged the alternative media as it was against everything a liberal country like the UK was said to uphold. It was totally against the principles outlined in the United Nations Convention on Human Rights, which

protects a free press and the freedom of association and conscience.

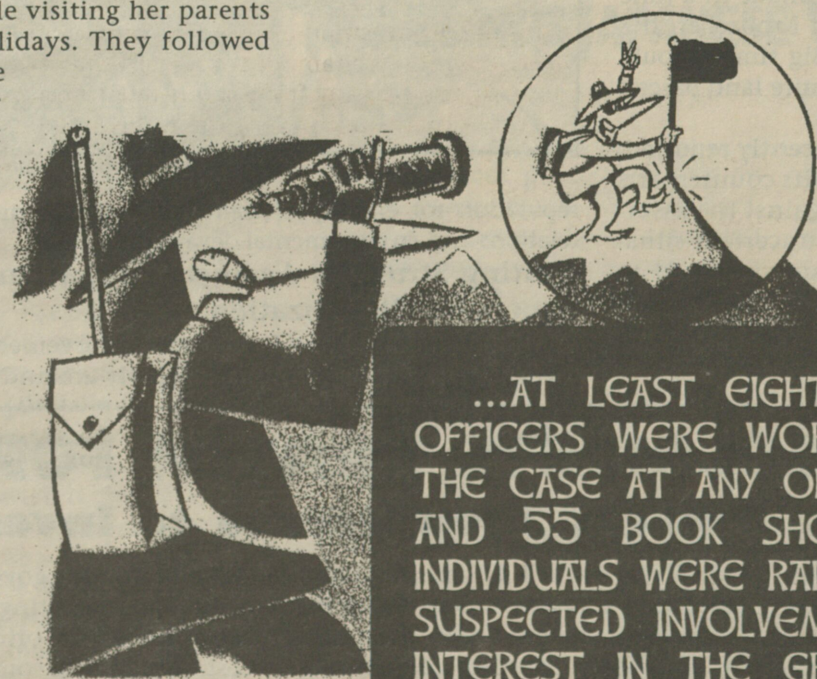
During the investigation preceding the trial, at least eight police officers were working on the case at any one time, and 55 book shops and individuals were raided for suspected involvement or interest in the green or animal rights movements.

The cost of the investigation was estimated to be around \$8 million, which made the Hampshire police look rather foolish.

So, for a change the good guys tentatively won, but who knows where this is going to go. After the trial one of the police officers involved, Sergeant

Gunner, told the media, "This will not stop us from taking similar actions against other people we suspect are inciting serious criminals."

The fight for justice goes on. The police still possess the power that imprisoned the defendants. For all we know, they may well be lining up the next target who just wants to live in a free, green, just world where there is equality between humanity and animals. Watch this space!



**...AT LEAST EIGHT POLICE OFFICERS WERE WORKING ON THE CASE AT ANY ONE TIME, AND 55 BOOK SHOPS AND INDIVIDUALS WERE RAIDED FOR SUSPECTED INVOLVEMENT OR INTEREST IN THE GREEN OR ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS. THE COST OF THE INVESTIGATION WAS ESTIMATED TO BE AROUND \$8 MILLION...**



# International Paper Gives Mexican Gov Marching Orders

## ZAPATISTAS DRUM DIFFERENT BEAT

BY ORIN LANGELE

International Paper Company's vision statement reads, "Ethical behavior and personal integrity are the core of our culture. With customers and facilities around the globe, we answer to the world." We say: Words are not enough. Join us in making International Paper really answer to the world!

One of Mexico's largest multinationals, Grupo Pulsar, and the US-based International Paper Company (IP) are planning eucalyptus plantations for pulp, paper and lumber production on indigenous and *ejido* lands in southeastern Mexico. IP wants to plant thousands of acres of eucalyptus in Chiapas. Because the species is notoriously greedy for water and soil nutrients, the areas selected for eucalyptus plantations are condemned to desertification.

### Big Timber Versus the Zapatistas

The timber industry is one of the biggest global industries, behind telecommunications and the auto industry. The power and weight of the timber industry's influence in Chiapas is evidenced by the manipulation of Article 27 and the rewriting of other new laws to open up Mexico for timber exploitation. Article 27 was written as result of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, spearheaded by rebels such as Emiliano Zapata. It promised agrarian reform and land redistribution to peasant communities. A precondition for Mexico entering the North American Free Trade Agreement was reform of Article 27. It was rewritten by forestry under-secretary Luis Tellez (later Mexican President Zedillo's chief of staff and now energy secretary) to permit the privatization of communal land holdings. In part, the reform of Article 27 forced the Zapatistas to declare war on the government.

Tellez authorized two subsequent laws: a 1992 forestry law that allowed commercial tree plantations and a 1997 revision of the law that literally granted big timber's wishes. The new regulations implemented a series of proposals made in a June 1995 letter to Tellez from Edward Krobacher, IP's forestry division vice president. Big timber could now receive hefty subsidies to acquire land parcels of unlimited size.

The Mexican daily *La Jornada* recently reported, "Finally, International Paper and its counterparts gained government protection against the insurrection and a resolution on the uncertain situation in Chiapas, where Krobacher promised to dedicate 400,000 hectares to cellulose production [eucalyptus]. The military fence around the EZLN [Zapatistas] and its supporters has been a palpable

demonstration of the commitment by the government of Ernesto Zedillo to the security of transnational corporations."

### International Paper Goes Global

On November 24, 1998, International Paper announced its money saving merger with Union Camp. The combined net sales for both International Paper and Union Camp reached \$24.5 billion in 1997. Big business means big abuses as International Paper, the largest landholder in the US, has a horrific



From jungle to eucalyptus plantation

reputation for employee health and safety, union relations and environmental devastation.

### Uniting Struggles Against International Paper and Globalization

As social change and ecological movements grow and unite, many people globally are under-



A Zapatista watches over the Selva Lacandon

standing that environmental devastation and human suffering are just different sides of the same coin. Action for Community and Ecology in the Rainforest of Central America (ACERCA) and other groups are calling for a campaign to force IP to "answer to the world" with regard to its blatant disregard for the indigenous peoples, native species and forests of Chiapas and elsewhere.

This is an excellent opportunity to tie local struggles in with global ones and vice versa. This campaign intends to open up dialogue and common ground with the movement for social justice and human rights.

Please write IP Chief Executive Officer John Dillon and tell him it is not acceptable to put eucalyptus plantations in southern Mexico and that you are boycotting IP products.

John T. Dillon, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, International Paper Company, 2 Manhattanville Road, Purchase, NY 10577; 1-800-223-1268 or (914) 941-5145

To get involved with ACERCA, write to POB 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571 fax 864-8203; [acerca@sover.net](mailto:acerca@sover.net); <http://www.nativeforest.org/campaigns/acerca/index.html>.

photo by Wendy Gull

## KENYAN ECOLOGISTS BEATEN FOR PLANTING TREES

### Police Provoke Attack, Then Refuse to Investigate

On January 8, Kenyan ecologist Wangari Maathai suffered serious head injuries when private security guards attacked and beat her and a group of supporters and journalists who had gone to the Karura forest near Nairobi, Kenya to plant trees. Maathai, the Green Belt Movement coordinator, was hospitalized after being hit on the head with a truncheon when the guards, hired by unidentified real-estate developers, charged the group. One foreign journalist was hit on the hand with a club, and a car belonging to another reporter was damaged by the guards, some of whom were armed with stones and bows and arrows.

A police escort had been requested by the tree planters, but it did not show. It is believed that the police notified the thugs of the tree planting. When Maathai's supporters reached the police station and tried to convince the police to return to the forest and arrest their assailants, the police actually ran away.

Real estate developers are encroaching on the Karura forest located on the northern outskirts of the Kenyan capital, and Maathai has vowed to fight corrupt developers by tirelessly replanting trees. The destruction of the Karura forest has provoked widespread condemnation and generated

debate about the government's habit of quietly allocating prime land to key political supporters at little or no cost. Last month some 50 riot police confronted Maathai and supporters as they arrived at the 2,500-acre eucalyptus and cypress forest. The forest is nestled amid some of the capital's most affluent suburbs and just beside the headquarters of the United Nations' Environmental Protection Agency. Swathes were quietly cut through the forest earlier this year, with the public learning of the destruction only when ecologists descended on it in October and set fire to the developer's equipment (see *EF!*,

December-January '99). Work stopped, and the Green Belt Movement planted 15,000 saplings, aided by youngsters from a neighboring shanty town.

Please send letters of outrage to His Excellency, President Daniel T. Arap Moi, POB 30510, Nairobi Kenya; Minister Lotodo, Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources, POB 30126, Nairobi, Kenya; Mr. Kipkora, Chief Conservator of Forests, POB 30513, Nairobi, Kenya. Send messages of support and checks or international money orders to the Green Belt Movement, POB 67545, Nairobi, Kenya (payable to the Green Belt Movement, A/c 1500785).

—GAIA FOUNDATION



# Russian Nuclear Waste Transport Stopped



Activists from Eastern block countries protest nuclear proliferation

BY VLADIMIR SLIVYAK

The Bulgarian nuclear industry canceled a plan to transport nuclear waste to Russia in December. In autumn 1998, the intergovernmental agreement for the nuclear waste shipments was protested in Russia, Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova, the countries that signed the agreement, which includes shipments and reprocessing of radioactive waste. Environmentalists said the agreement by the governments promotes nuclear proliferation, plutonium production and an increased risk of nuclear accidents.

More than 200 environmental groups from every corner of the globe signed an appeal to the authorities of the involved countries asking them to cancel the plan to ship

nuclear waste. Bulgarian and Russian environmental groups presented the appeal to various parliaments.

Bulgarian officials said the shipment was canceled because the Moldovan parliament was opposed to it. Alternative routes for the shipment from Bulgaria to Russia, through Romania and Ukraine, haven't been developed.

"Shipment of nuclear waste presents serious danger to the environment and people," said Polina Kireva of the Bulgarian environmental group Za Zemyata. "Not only this shipment of nuclear waste must be canceled but all of the shipments planned for the future. The waste should not move through the borders. No countries must send their waste to neighbors," she added.

## CAMBODIAN VILLAGE POISONED FOR PROFIT

On a dark December night dozens of trucks loaded with 3,000 tons of industrial waste from Taiwan dumped their loads in the Cambodian town of Bet Trang. At daybreak, the 40 families of the village, "thought we were in luck!" says Em Sim, a resident. The poor villagers used the white plastic sacks holding the dusty cement-like material as tents, bedding, canopies and to store rice. They ripped open the bags with their teeth to get string for clotheslines.

No one told the villagers that the material was compressed from an industrial waste incinerator and was contaminated with high levels of mercury as well as hazardous mixtures of other metals. In fact, no one told the villagers that they were handling toxic material at all, not until journalists arrived two weeks later to take pictures of the dumpsite and the children playing there.

Once residents started suffering

from headaches, white discharge from their eyes, pain in their bones and joints, fever, diarrhea, weight loss and rashes, the military sealed off the town and ordered them to leave. But further aid was not forthcoming. The government hasn't tested the townspeople, nor provided them with medical aid or alternative shelter. It did threaten to sue the Taiwanese company. When the company refused to take the waste back, saying it couldn't have dumped the waste in Taiwan because of the threat of public protests, the Cambodian government backed down. Workers have now begun sealing the waste in barrels.

Though a dock worker who cleaned out the hold of a ship transporting the material died and five others were hospitalized, the Bet Trang villagers are eager to return to their town. "We are waiting for the government to tell us we can go back," says Em Sim. "As soon as they tell us it's safe, we'll go."

## ISRAELI ROAD RAGERS TARGET BANK

The Israeli group Green Action has staged two days of action in recent months against the Tel Aviv branch of Bank Hapoalim due to its involvement in the finance of the Trans Israel Highway project. The bank is financing 70 percent of the cost of the road, which will cut through forests just outside Jerusalem and result in the increase of cars, carbon monoxide and other pollutants linked to higher rates of asthma and other breathing problems. Green Action is calling for a boycott of Bank Hapoalim to protest the institution's responsibility for the pending socio-ecological disaster.

At the actions on October 28 and December 20, activists distributed leaflets to passersby explaining the bank's involvement with Highway 16. There were similar events in Jerusalem and Haifa involving around 20 people each. In Tel Aviv four activists dressed in black were "hanged" from trees, with signs saying, "Bank Hapoalim finances asthma for the masses!" and, "Boycott Bank Hapoalim."

The media reported that there

was an anti-bank action and the reason for the demonstration but rather strangely forgot to say which bank! The bank justifies its position by saying the government approved the project and it is only funding it.

Green Action is also planning the first Green Action/Israel EF! gathering on April 22-24 somewhere near Highway 16 in the forest near Jerusalem. The focus



Banner hangers protest ecologically irresponsible Bank Hapoalim

will be on the effects of globalization, with information on free trade zones and their implication on local communities, transportation and road-raging direct action tactics.

Anyone passing through Israel should get in touch with Green Action. Suggestions and help would be appreciated. Viva! For more information contact Rony 972 3 5162349; greenman@shani.net; www.greenaction.org.il.

## FIRE ENDS JAPANESE WHALING MISSION

BY SAXON

After a fire disabled the engine of the only meat processing ship in Japan's controversial whaling fleet, sending it home, four remaining whaling ships could only continue to the Southern Oceans of the Pacific to carry out whale population census recordings. It was a safer Christmas for the minke whales. The Japanese whalers had planned to slaughter 440 minke whales in the name of "science."

A spokesperson for the fleet said the blaze started in the meat processing area of the *Nisshin Maru* as it steamed down the east coast of Australia on the way to the Southern Oceans. The fleet was on its way there for the 12th year in a row, despite calls by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) for Japan to stop whaling.

Last April the fleet returned with 438 minke whales, bringing the to-

tal killed for "science" to 3,767 since the Southern Ocean was declared a sanctuary by the IWC in 1994. The meat from the whales killed is part of a US\$50 million-a-year whale meat market in Japan.

"Under the circumstances, any claim, no matter how loosely made, that the ship was sabotaged by anti-whaling advocates, is dangerous and highly irresponsible," a spokesperson for Breach Marine Protection said.



Photo courtesy Native Forest Network

Australian Michael Deeley, chairman of the world's largest hardwood woodchipping company, North Ltd., worked up a sweat shoveling a pile of woodchips dumped outside his house. Though he only moved about one percent of the chips and was two hours late for work, it was noble of Deeley to put in a little elbow grease before calling in the cleaners. Better yet, the action was a great opportunity for Earth First! and the Native Forest Network to express their feelings about Deeley's line of work.



# The Last of a River's Dignity

## Exploring the Reaches of the 'Ole Miss

BY JIMMY DEMOS

With little effort of our own, the river carried us along. We had stopped paddling for a moment to enjoy the simplicity of drifting at the river's own pace. Our canoe passed over a clean body of water, dyed a bourbon-auburn by clay and silt deposits. As was nature's intention, the current moved steadily. Here, the Mississippi was a beautiful body of pure and unmolested, free-flowing river. Only half a day's paddle downstream, however, a long, ugly, ecologically perverse series of industrial corsets and straitjackets upset everything natural about this river.

The two of us were a few days out of the great river's headwaters in Lake Itasca, Minnesota, unhurriedly pursuing the end of its 2,500-mile course at the Gulf of Mexico. My friend Carlos and I had decided to spend our summer exploring the Mississippi River. Whether or not we ever made it to the Gulf didn't seem to matter much; we were lucky and thrilled to be along the river's exquisite northern reaches.

The pristine beauty of the Great North Woods gathered all around us: the magic of an unpolluted, unregulated stream cutting its way through wild rice and cattail marshes. Off in the distance towered old stands of white pine, quaking aspen and black maple that seemed to breathe in the presence of wind. A panorama of 360 degrees of horizon, unblemished by awful cement smokestacks or monstrous iron barges, provided great volumes of fresh air.

With our paddles resting across our laps, it was as though we had been integrated into the silence that whispers in these parts. Droplets of water fell from the wooden blades to gently tap, tap, tap the surface of the quiet river, lending texture to the silence.

Looking around the Minnesota Headwaters Wilderness Area, it was hard to believe this is an endangered ecosystem, that only this relatively short leg of the long Mississippi is clean, and for the most part, unpolluted. Only the first couple hundred miles are not controlled by lock, dam and levee. This slight fraction of "the father of waters," or Mesipe, as the Chippewa called it, is all that remains of the Mississippi River which pursues its course as unrestricted water running inexorably downriver. Why not preserve the whole damn river and all of its shoreline?

After all, the Mississippi River valley is a bioregion entirely of its own, and its welfare depends on the delicate interworkings of each part of its vast and

me not to go. She said, "You may not come out alive, or if you do survive, illness—irreversible illness—will be in your future." Within the majesty of the river's far north, I thought these dire appraisals simply couldn't apply. For me, the Mississippi River was still very much alive.

So, along its back we canoed. In spite of the river's shoddy reputation and the admonitions to keep away from it, there we were, paddling down the most poisoned river in the states, swimming in it, washing pots and pans in it, brushing our teeth along its shores and using its water to gargle, rinse and spit. Aside from a few amoebas that might cause a bad fit of the runs, I felt the river was safe... until we came to the Champion Dam outside of Little Falls, Minnesota.

A major player in the paper and pulp industry, Champion International produces over 6.5 million tons of paper, paperboard and market pulp each year. It owns more than five million acres of forestlands, making it one of the largest private land owners in the country. In Texas alone, its land holdings add up to almost twice those of the US Forest Service.

Champion's chlorine bleaching process is a major source of pollution in the Mississippi's alluvial and riverine environment. Yet, Champion's web site boasts that a forest is "more than just trees. It is also the air, water, soil, plants, animals and fish that form a living, breathing ecosystem... Our goal is to ensure that our forests thrive in their abundant and rich diversity." That's a helluva statement for such an enormous corporate tree-cutter.

Just a little hard-nosed research shows that, far from being a friend to fish, water and tree, Champion Paper is among the pernicious corps of their despoilers. Its chlorine bleaching process generates dioxins, furans and other ecologically insidious toxins that invariably make it past inadequate wastewater treatment facilities into the Mississippi. The casualties include fish and other aquatic organisms in the vicinity of the rusty pipe that ceaselessly dumps toxic waste. How can Champion employ salubrious adjectives like rich, breathing and diversity (the cherished vocabulary of environmentalists) in a description of the ecosystem its chlorine is destroying? Its true goal is to continue to generate profits: \$1,919,900,000 in profits over the last decade, placing Champion in the ranks of the Fortune 500.

I tried to ignore all the dirty facts along the pristine stretches of the upper river that precede the dam, however, the anticipation of that initial encounter with smokestacks over the tree line, looming like outposts of the forest's plunderers, was so strong and unrelenting I began to have trouble enjoying my woody surroundings. I even thought I could smell something not quite natural and wholesome, some airborne synthetic smell seeping in through my nostrils.

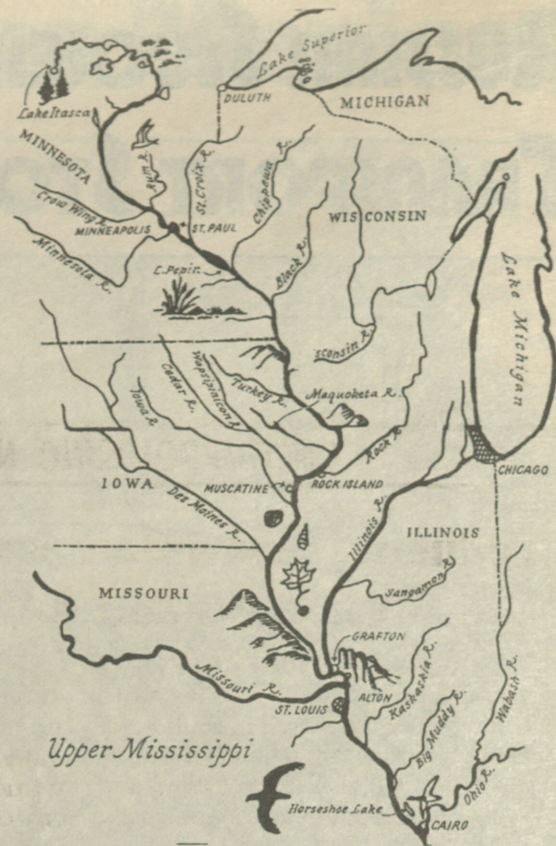
What we were approaching downriver was no secret to me. I was trying to take it all in before it ended: the last fleeting moment of unharassed river embellished only by nature's jewels. Soon enough, the fears of my apprehension, the advent of industry, promising the river's quick ruination, asserted themselves.

"Do you smell that?" Carlos asked me, twitching his nose.

I inhaled deeply, though it wasn't necessary. The foreign odor was by now sufficiently strong. "Yeah, I do. It's gotta be some factory we're coming up on."

"It fuckin' reeks," he replied, contorting his face into a sour grimace.

The scent could be categorized as neither fragrance nor aroma but only as a noxious, malodorous funk we had canoed into. Our only recourse was a defensive gag, coughed up in disgust. We



quickly accelerated in hopes of losing the bad air.

One minute we were in the thick of it, holding our breath and paddling quickly, and the next, we were thankfully removed. Soon enough, it was solid, unavoidable, inescapable, having matriculated into the fabric of the place, adhering like a thick, invisible, putrid cream to the bark of trees and settling upon the verdant green marsh like a rank, sticky vapor. A strange smell, it couldn't have been welcomed by the native creatures. In fact, the cottonwoods across the way seemed to peculiarly shiver and shake, as though in an effort to uproot themselves, trod off and transplant their trunks elsewhere. It was a rancid, foul chemical excreta that had taken up residence in a place where normally one would be stroked with the wafting, mingling scents of pine, daisy and rich, moist earth.

Coming around a bend in the river, first one, then another smokestack appeared, as though out of a bad dream where they build factories in forests. Gray billows of smoke were released from their crowns. The sight was preceded by the smell and succeeded by the calibrated rhythm of machinery marching out a mechanical tune. I just wanted to get the hell away from it, but first we had to run its gauntlet.

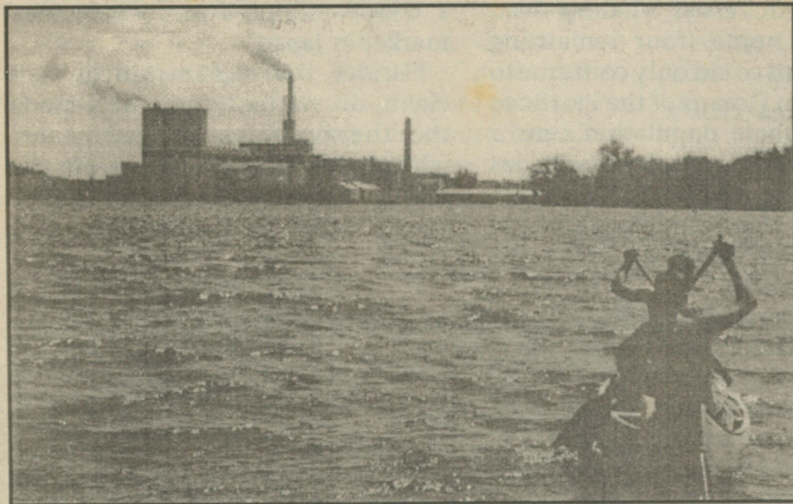
Just one of 11 paper mills owned and operated by Champion in the US, the mill receives its power from a hydroelectric dam, also owned and operated by Champion. Marx would be appalled: a company that not only controls the means of production but likewise the energy source to power it.

We had to portage around the cement dam and walk behind a fence posted with odiously familiar signs ordering us not to trespass under penalty of law. With the canoe up on our shoulders, we paused to observe. Through the gaps in the chain-link fence, we watched as the Mississippi cascaded through confining hydroelectric cement chambers, over steel doors and, at last, into its own homely earthen riverbed. A two-foot-tall pipe emerging mysteriously from the river bank spewed polluted, chlorinated cream into the river.

In the city, one is desensitized by the ubiquitous signs and citadels of industry. But there, in the woods, where its stations stick out like sore thumbs or lepers, one can recognize with immediate, acute repugnance the offensive nature assumed by industry.

Continuing south, we approached a steadily increasing succession of more dams, mills and factories. We followed the river's windy route, realizing with rueful scorn that the Mississippi was a bit weaker, somewhat diminished and partly robbed of its vigor and stamina. From there it becomes the Rust Belt's "cesspool," forms the "Cancer Corridor" of Louisiana and dumps out effluents and with little left of its original self into the Gulf of Mexico, where it can finally lose itself forever. But at least in northern Minnesota, there's a pocket of a river's dignity. Near its source, it's still a thing of untarnished beauty. Let it not diminish.

To brows Champion's website go to [www.championpaper.com/acreage/acrinf.html](http://www.championpaper.com/acreage/acrinf.html).



Big smoke on 'Ole Miss

complex ecosystem. If you cut off a leg of that environmental composite, the whole thing will bleed to death, which is what is happening now (or perhaps already has). The September-October '98 issue of *E Magazine* didn't even bother to include the Mississippi in its list of America's 20 most endangered rivers. Presumably, it's fallen from the endangered list to that of the extinct. Dead. Irrevocably gone. Forgotten.

This moribund classification resonates well with popular notions of the Mississippi as the cesspool of the Rust Belt. One pollution expert had warned me about the polyvinyl chlorides on the river, urging





# SANTA BARBARA EARTH FIRST!



UNCOMPROMISING NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!

## Introducing Santa Barbara Earth First!: A Call for Action and Revolution!

"GIANT OIL SLICK SPREADING IN SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL," the headlines shouted on January 29, 1969. An Unocal oil well off the Santa Barbara coast had cracked, creating a 3 million gallon layer of sludge that smothered 20 miles of coastline and stretched 40 miles out to sea. Thousands of angry residents demanded immediate action, and the emergence of similar environmental crises across the globe revealed the urgency of rediscovering humankind's natural roots. Overnight, Santa Barbara received international attention and became the birthplace of today's mainstream environmental movement.

Today, 3 decades later, our beachside community along the Central California coast is threatened by yet another crisis, one that is far more complex and fundamental than a single oil spill. Many people are again demanding immediate action. And with the arrival of the Earth First! movement to Santa Barbara, our bioregion once again has the potential to become the birthplace of a radically different environmental consciousness.

### The Crisis

We are witnessing the loss of *at least* 30,000 species per year worldwide; the 100-plus endangered and threatened species that occur along California's Central Coast may await a similar fate. While our politicians dismantle our nation's environmental laws in the name of Corporate America, oil companies, developers, and corporate agriculture are converting Santa Barbara into a toxic, concrete-dominated, monoculture moonscape. Nature is succumbing to multinational conglomerates that spread their diseases of consumerism and dominance in their quest to maximize profits. And humanity's over-reliance on technology has resulted in the mechanization of thought, labor, and natural processes.

### The Revolution Solution!

Amidst the destruction, optimism must and does remain within many spirited activists. Historically, such crises have planted the seeds of resistance and revolution within the thoughts and actions of those who accept the responsibility to empower themselves. Now, again, the time is ripe for revolution!

*see REVOLUTION! on back page*

## Massive Creek Pollution Closes Beaches

Recent testing has revealed widespread pollution at Santa Barbara's world-renowned beaches. Extremely unsafe bacteria levels that exceed all state standards have been identified at Rincon, Carpinteria State, East Beach at both Mission and Sycamore Creeks, Arroyo Quemada, and Jalama beaches in the summer months alone. These beaches have been closed until further notice.

Advisory warnings have been posted at 6 other area beaches where water testing has indicated the presence of elevated levels of bacteria. Only 16 beaches are tested for bacteria in the County, demonstrating the widespread pollution of creeks and beaches in this tourism-dependent town.

While county officials have begun their Watershed Characterization Study, in which only 4 area creeks will be tested only 4 times per year, residents are becoming increasingly outraged at ongoing beach closures. Nearly 200 activists rallied outside the County Administration building in August to renounce the inaction of the Board of Supervisors.

Earth First! and a coalition of other environmental groups advocate the prompt identification and immediate shutdown of all major pollution sources.

## Central California's Gaviota Coastline Threatened by Rampant Development

The Gaviota Coast begins just north of Point Conception, and extends 40 miles south near the small community of Ellwood. Here, towering coastal bluffs rise from the pounding Pacific surf and offer spectacular views of the five distant Channel Islands. Pristine grasslands on the coastal plain quickly give way to the steep, chaparral slopes of the Santa Ynez Mountains.

Developers, however, have other plans for this largest expanse of undeveloped coastline in Santa Barbara County. A concrete cornucopia of golf courses, luxury hotels, and countless housing subdivisions threaten to transform this pristine coastline into yet another Los Angeles concrete and asphalt mosaic.

A rancher is claiming that a 17th century map permits the construction of 354 homes in the old township of Naples. Immediately down the coast, ARCO is preparing to construct 2 approved golf courses atop coastal bluffs that border a seal rookery. A 400-room luxury hotel is currently being constructed at Haskell's Beach near Winchester Canyon. And Orange County developer Southwest Diversified has sued county officials and the California Coastal Commission in its attempts to dump 154 luxury homes on top of rare native grasslands, wetlands, and the West Coast's largest Monarch Butterfly overwintering site.

With many of these projects already approved, the bulldozers are creeping up the Gaviota Coast right now! By placing your name on SBEF's "Beat the Bulldozers" activist list (see back page), you will be contacted to help stop the dozer destruction.



Tens of thousands of ancient oaks, like this Valley Oak (*Quercus lobata*), are threatened by rapidly-expanding corporate vineyards in Santa Barbara County. Over 2,000 oaks have recently been clearcut in the Los Alamos Valley alone.

*Chris Sievert*

## Thousands of Ancient Oak Trees Clearcut for Corporate Vineyards

Last November, industrial wine beast Kendall-Jackson (K-J) clearcut nearly 900 ancient oak trees. The mangled branches and splintered trunks were then bulldozed into large burn piles to make way for K-J's new 545-acre, \$10 million Camelot vineyard. The trees were cut from an expansive oak savannah and woodlands adjacent to Highway 101 in the Los Alamos Valley, approximately 55 miles north of the city of Santa Barbara.

Ironically, the clearcutting began just days after K-J hosted a workshop for wine industry representatives to discuss the voluntary protection of oak trees.

The K-J clearcut is only one of many recent episodes of massive oak destruction in Santa Barbara County. Over 2,000 ancient oak trees have been toppled from several vineyards in the Los Alamos Valley alone in the past 2 years. In fact, vineyard expansion in the last 2 years has removed more oaks than has all commercial and residential development here in the last 10 years! Local experts now predict that the county's vineyard acreage will triple in less than a decade, resulting in the additional loss of *tens of thousands* of oaks.

### Politics As Usual

County officials maintained that K-J's clearcut was legal. The Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors discussed the K-J clearcutting incident in early December to calm local residents, many of whom witnessed the clearcutting firsthand. After hearing hours of public testimony that denounced the county's lack of an oak tree protection ordinance, county officials vowed to work with the industry winos to draft voluntary guidelines.

*see OAKS on next page*

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For many of us, perhaps for most of us, the wilderness is as much our home, or a lot more so, than the wretched little stucco boxes, plywood apartments, and wallboard condominiums in which we are mostly confined by the insatiable demands of an overcrowded and ever-expanding industrial culture. And if the wilderness is our true home, and if it is threatened with invasion, pillage and destruction—which it certainly is—then we have the right to defend that home, as we would our private rooms, by whatever means are necessary. Edward Abbey





## Kendall-Jackson: Portrait of a Killer

Kendall-Jackson (K-J) has a history of oak tree massacre and should be considered armed (with bulldozers, vineyard stakes, and payola) and extremely dangerous. K-J's extensive criminal record includes oak clearing in Windsor, monstrous winery construction in Alexander Valley, and redwood logging in the Occidental Hills. Victims typically include elderly Valley, Blue, and Coast Live Oaks, but innocent young saplings have also been targeted.

Headquartered in Sonoma County in Northern California, K-J is rarely seen and has the keen ability to descend upon the unsuspecting landscapes of distant communities. The industry giant owns about 10,000 acres in California, as well as substantial holdings in Latin America and Europe.

Front-man and co-conspirator Jess Jackson, whose current whereabouts are unknown, was a former trial lawyer for the wise use movement and has probably maintained connections with the notorious Pacific Legal Foundation.

K-J has defended its recent slaughter of 900 oaks by claiming that it failed to kill the 8,000 oaks that still remain on the property. No oak is safe until this unremorseful, immoral, and relentless beast is finally brought to eco-justice!

### OAKS (continued from front page)

In February, the Supervisors considered several options for formal oak tree protection. The Supervisors' staff recommended the adoption of an urgency ordinance that would provide immediate protection of oak trees. However, county agriculture officials opposed *any* regulation on *all* agricultural lands, and issued a demand to drop or postpone *any* decision on oak tree protection. The Santa Barbara County Farm Bureau admonished that "the rights of private property owners to use their property cannot be infringed upon by a few well meaning but misguided do-gooders." Taking heed, the Schmoozervisors opposed their own staff's recommendation, failed to enact any type of ordinance, and instead voted unanimously to initiate a "collaborative process" whereby agriculturalists and environmentalists would, you guessed it, compromise.

Two months later, 50 vintners pledged to voluntarily plant 10 oaks for every one that is removed. Earth First! maintains that no oaks should be "removed" in the first place, and that their toothless voluntary guidelines provide no mechanisms to protect oaks *before* they are cut down.

### Lawsuits and Initiatives

Two milestones in oak tree protection were achieved in April. Coincidentally, the Board of Supervisors had nothing to do with either of them.

Under the motto "No Good Wine From Dead Oaks," a newly-formed coalition called the Alliance to Conserve Oak Resources Now (ACORN) announced their petition drive to place an oak protection measure on the November ballot. To qualify, the coalition of scientists, enviros, and a local organic vintner needed to collect 13,400 signatures in less than 3 months. While stopping short of a complete ban on oak tree removal, the initiative calls for no net loss of trees and would establish different degrees of protection for oaks depending

on their width, height, and species.

One week later, the usually-moderate Sierra Club filed a lawsuit against county Supervisors and K-J. The lawsuit alleged that the county's issuance of a grading permit to K-J lacked an adequate evaluation of significant environmental impacts. County officials maintained the legality of the grading permit under which K-J's oak clearcutting was executed.

### Supervisors Under the Influence of Bad Wine?

The lawsuit and initiative drive infuriated county Supervisors, who praised the "success" of the collaborative process and warned that any voluntary guidelines would be jeopardized by the litigation and ballot measure. Nearly 6 months after the K-J clearcutting of oak trees, and despite no action whatsoever taken on the part of county Supervisors to provide immediate oak tree protection, Supervisor Tim Staffel profoundly claimed, "We're off to a good start. We should continue with the collaborative process. It's the way to go." Fearing that a regulatory approach would prevent total oak annihilation, K-J greenwashing lackey Jenny Williamson announced that K-J would be willing to provide some blood money to help keep the collaborative process alive.

In June, ACORN announced their collection of 19,760 signatures in support of the oak protection ballot measure. One month later, County Supervisors voted 3-2 to place a competing oak tree protection measure on the November ballot. The measure was signed by only 6 farmers, ranchers, and vintners, and authored by developer attorney and property-rights advocate Susan Petrovich, who also happens to be defending K-J in the Sierra Club lawsuit. As proposed, the counter-initiative will actually dismantle current land use laws that afford minimal protection of oaks, and does not even prevent clearcutting.

### Update!

At press time, the Supervisors continue rely on the establishment of voluntary guidelines as County's only means of oak tree protection. The lawsuit against K-J and the Supes is still awaiting trial. K-J continues to remove oaks from its vineyard site in Los Alamos, and reports of other large-scale oak clearcuts in northern Santa Barbara County are awaiting confirmation. As the November election nears, such reports are expected to increase as property owners engage in the massive destruction of oaks to avoid regulation if the ACORN measure passes.

While Santa Barbara Earth First! supports the ACORN initiative, we steadfastly maintain that NO oaks should be removed from anywhere over any amount of time, with extremely limited exceptions. In keeping with our uncompromising stance, we will continue to independently monitor the Santa Maria, Santa Ynez, and Los Alamos valleys, will report the illegal removal of oak trees to county officials, and will mobilize activists to place their bodies on the line to directly halt the further destruction of our oak landscape. Perhaps we will join K-J for a little afternoon wine tasting at its Cambria Winery in Santa Maria. And if K-J doesn't remove their newly-planted grapevines and irrigation pipes in a prompt and orderly fashion, perhaps some brave midnight warriors will have to do it themselves, the old-fashioned way.

## Ecology, History, and Future of Santa Barbara Oaks

Oak communities comprise California's most biologically diverse ecosystems and cover more than 1/3 of the state. Their remarkable ability to resist fire, wind, drought, and disease allows some California oaks to reach over 600 years of age, over 100 tall, and over 12 feet in trunk diameter.

### Oak Species

Out of the 9 oak tree species that occur in California, the most common in Santa Barbara include Valley Oak, Coast Live Oak, and Blue Oak. The Coast Live Oak is unique among California oaks in its ability to survive along the coast. The Blue Oak typically occurs on the hot, dry foothills of interior valleys. The Valley Oak is the largest American oak and occupies inland valleys and low foothills. Both Valley and Blue Oaks are restricted to California and found nowhere else.

Native oaks provide shelter, nesting sites, travel corridors, and a reliable food source for thousands of animal species. In fact, oak acorn production ensures the survival of countless animals during the fall months, when other food sources are scarce and when many animals must put on fat for the winter.

Oaks support over 5,000 insect species, including moths, butterflies, beetles, wasps, bees, ants, and millipedes. More than 80 reptile species reside in California oak communities, including lizards, salamanders, toads, frogs, and snakes. Over

100 species of birds are found in oak ecosystems. And over 60 mammalian species (one-third of California's total mammalian species) are dependent on oaks.

### Historical Decline

Acorns were the primary food source for most Native Californians, and religious ceremonies preceded each year's crop. Lunar cycles were followed according to the ripening of acorns. Oaks were also revered as spiritual symbols surrounding birth, puberty, marriage, and death. In addition, oaks were important for trade, medicine, and dyes.

Spanish explorer Juan Cabrillo noted in the 17th century that one could walk from Rincon Point (southern Santa Barbara) to Gaviota Point (65 miles west) without ever leaving the shade of an oak tree. By the early 1800s, however, oaks were being rapidly consumed as an energy source for the Spanish missions along California's coast. Intensive farming and grazing began to decimate oak communities as well.

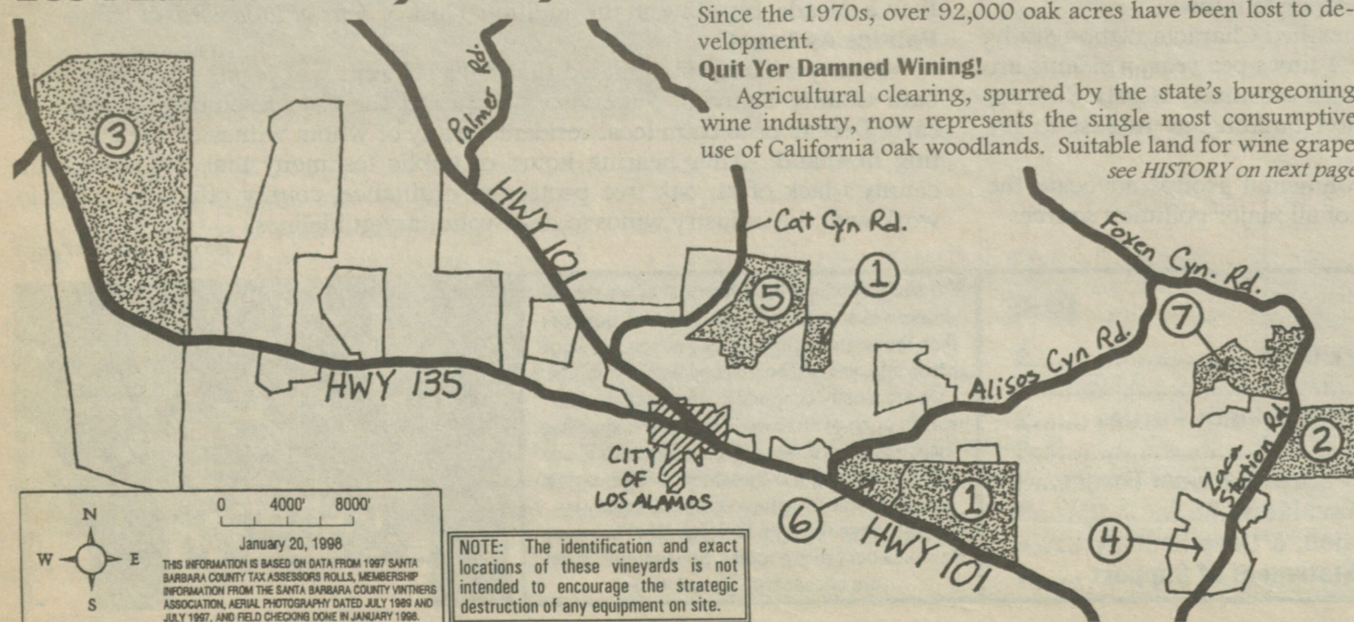
By 1849, Gold Rush prospectors were toppling even more oaks to fuel locomotives. Large amounts of oak wood was also sent to L.A. or used for wagon construction, tools, or firewood. Millions of acres were cleared for farmland and flood control. By the turn of the century, 90% of California's Valley Oak riparian forests had been destroyed.

California's human population exploded after the 1940s, during which time oaks declined precipitously from the intensive development of homes and related infrastructure. Since the 1970s, over 92,000 oak acres have been lost to development.

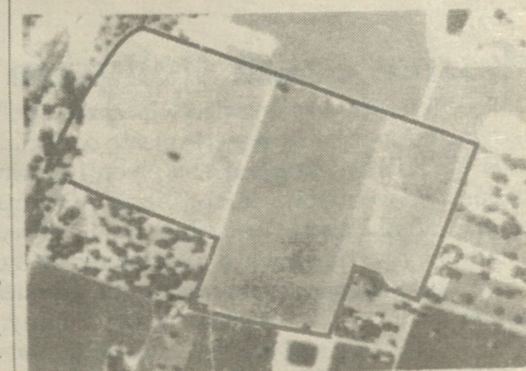
### Quit Yer Damned Wining!

Agricultural clearing, spurred by the state's burgeoning wine industry, now represents the single most consumptive use of California oak woodlands. Suitable land for wine grape see HISTORY on next page

## Los Alamos Valley Vineyards



BEFORE: 211 Oaks AFTER: 1 Oak



## AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF FIRESTONE'S CLEARCUT

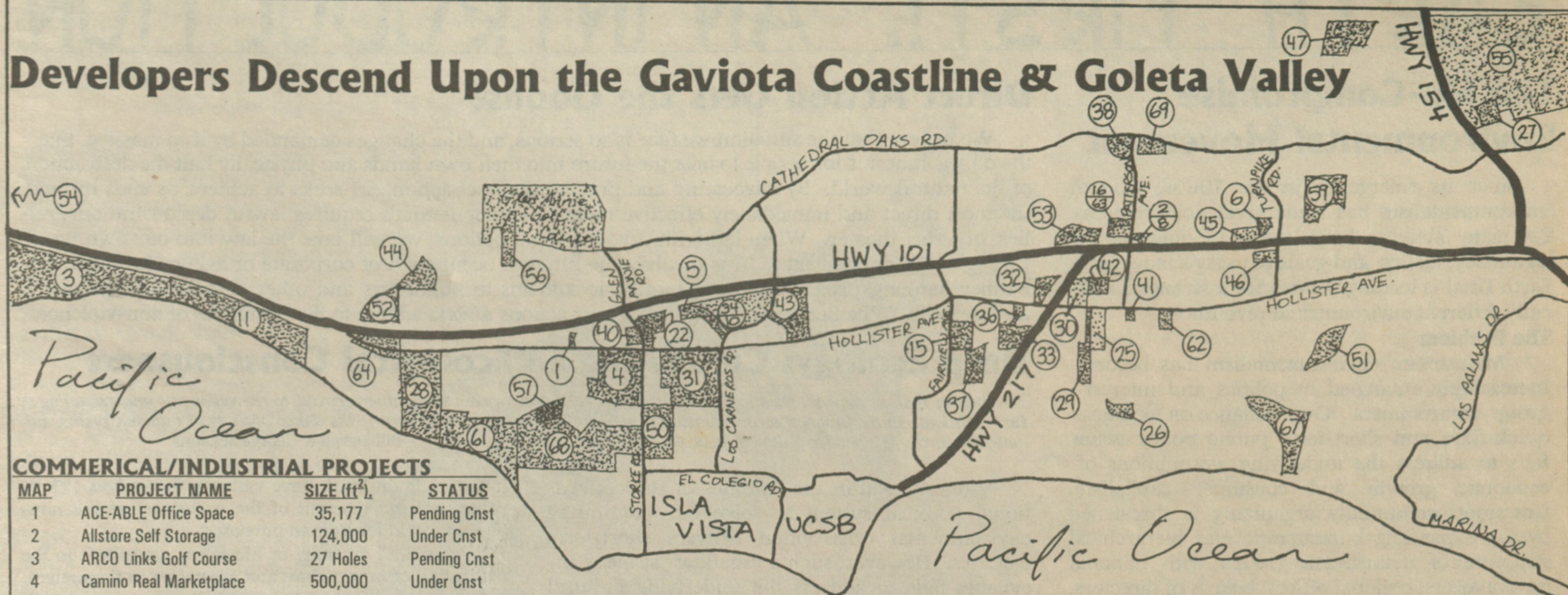
## DEATH COUNT

MAP ID #	GUILTY PARTIES	# OAKS CUT*
1	Kendall-Jackson	1,651
2	Fess Parker	230
3	Beringer Estates	225
4	Firestone	210
5	Sutter Home	160
6	Premeire Partners	122
7	Zaca Mesa	105
TOTAL		2703

\* Aerial estimates from July 1989 through November 1997. source: SB County Planning & Development Department.



# Developers Descend Upon the Gaviota Coastline & Goleta Valley



## COMMERICAL/INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS

MAP	PROJECT NAME	SIZE (ft <sup>2</sup> )	STATUS
1	ACE-ABLE Office Space	35,177	Pending Cnst
2	Allstore Self Storage	124,000	Under Cnst
3	ARCO Links Golf Course	27 Holes	Pending Cnst
4	Camino Real Marketplace	500,000	Under Cnst
5	Castilian Technical Center	128,000	Pending Cnst
6	Extended Stay Hotel	122 Rooms	Constructed
7	Fairview Commercial	16,620	Approved
8	Jack-in-the-Box Fast Food	2,637	Approved
9	Koke Commercial Building	4,100	Pending Cnst
10	Raytheon Industrial	204,000	Approved
11	SB Club Resort & Spa	400 Rooms	Under Cnst
12	Storke Hollister Research	56,800	Pending Cnst
13	Timm Self-Storage	49,670	Constructed
14	Toyota Auto Dealership	11,420	Pending Cnst
15	Airport Plaza	78,324	Proposed
16	Albertson's Grocery Store	48,247	Proposed
17	Bermant Pine Ave. Office	14,520	Proposed
18	Carl's Jr. Fast Food	3,405	Proposed
19	Congregation B'nai B'rith	5,718	Proposed
20	Duerner Recreation Camp		Proposed
21	Garl Commercial Building	2,100	Proposed
22	Joslyn Industrial Center	205,773	Proposed
23	Keeler Guest Ranch		Proposed
24	Lash Construction Office	3,800	Proposed
25	Mentor Corp. Office Bldg.	68,278	Approved
26	Miller Horse Operation		Proposed
27	SB Christian School	800 students	Proposed
28	SB Shores Park	120 acres	Proposed
29	St. Anathasius	24728	Proposed
30	St. Raphael's Cmty. Cntr.	10,600	Approved
31	Delco Industrial Space		Potential
32	Sumida Hotel		Potential
33	Page Family Hotel		Potential
34	Raytheon Indust. Space		Potential
35	Raytheon Triangle Hotel		Proposed
36	Theater/Retail Complex		Potential
37	Thornwood Industrial Pk.		Potential

## RESIDENTIAL PROJECTS

MAP	NAME	SIZE (units)	STATUS
38	Cathedral Pointe	48	Constructed
39	Devereux School Housing	28	Constructed
40	Glen Annie Homes	60	Under Cnst
41	Hollipat Apartments	35	Pending Cnst
42	La Sumida Gardens Apts.	176	Pending Cnst
43	Los Carneros Cmty. Apts.	235	Proposed
44	Mountain View Ranch	112	Under Cnst
45	Pabble Hill Homes	38	Pending Cnst
46	Positano Apartments	118	Constructed
47	Pozzato/La Riata Homes	24	Pending Cnst
48	Rancho Esperanza	8	Under Cnst
49	San Marcos Court	13	Under Cnst
50	Storke Ranch	275	Under Cnst
51	Vinatype Ranch	11	Under Cnst
52	Winchester Commons	146	Under Cnst
53	Maravilla Senior Community	386	Approved
54	Naples	354	Potential
55	Bridle Ridge	75	Proposed
56	Westfield LLC	45	Proposed
57	Creekside Village	72	Proposed
58	Emanuel Development	3	Proposed
59	Forte Ranch Phase II	63	Proposed
60	Heritage House Spcl.Cr. Hm.	50	Proposed
61	Monarch Point Reserve	161	Proposed
62	Oak View Homes	30	Proposed
63	Orchard Park	40	Proposed
64	Sandpiper Residential Proj.	159	Proposed
65	NW Storke/Hollister		Potential
66	Santa Felicia		Potential
67	More Mesa		Potential
68	UCSB NW Campus Housing	513	Proposed

## Wilderness, Incorporated?

The U.S. Forest Service's (USFS) Recreation Fee Demonstration Program (RFDP), currently being implemented in over 100 national forests, is imposing daily user fees on those who enter national forest lands. Hikers who have parked in Santa Barbara's Los Padres National Forest without a \$5 daily "Adventure Pass" have been fined over \$100.

The Adventure Pass is supported, lobbied for, and partially funded by the American Recreation Coalition, a consortium of over 100 wise-use industry types, including manufacturers of motor boats, jet skis, RVs, motorcycles, ORVs, and snowmobiles, as well as sporting equipment manufacturers, campground concessionaires, the National Rifle Association, and the Walt Disney Company.

Recent budget reductions, along with below-cost subsidies for logging, mining, and grazing, have sent the USFS scrambling for money. Supporting the RFDP encourages future underfunding of the USFS. Boycott the Adventure Pass!

## HISTORY (continued from previous page)

production is becoming increasingly scarce and costly in Napa and Sonoma counties in the heart of Northern California's Wine Country. Large corporate wine producers are now descending upon the coastal valleys and foothills of Santa Barbara, where cheap land with excellent grape-growing conditions remains abundant. Here, widespread vineyard expansion in the Los Alamos, Santa Maria, and Santa Ynez Valleys has recently made wine the region's leading agricultural commodity. Such an influx of out-of-town industrial vintners is beginning to jeopardize the future of local, organic vintners and Santa Barbara's remaining oak communities.

### The Future of California Oaks

By next century, it is estimated that an additional 244,000 oak woodland acres will be destroyed in California. Valley and Blue Oaks are experiencing a widespread lack of oak regeneration due to the introduction of non-native grasses, soil compaction and trampling from livestock, predator control, and fire suppression.

Oaks will continue to compete with farmers and developers for prime valley and foothill lands, placing the future of these magnificent trees in question. But with Santa Barbara's oaks already reduced to 58% of historic levels, one certainty remains: the removal of even one more oak will become increasingly difficult to justify.

## REGIONAL ROUND-UP

### Flood Control District Threatens Creeks

The county's Flood Control District has released its annual "maintenance plan" that calls for the clearing of miles of creek vegetation. The District has also proposed the damming of Montecito Creek to prevent the downstream accumulation of storm debris. Earth First! will continue to monitor District activities and, when necessary, halt their continued destruction and imprisonment of local creeks.

### Free the Santa Ynez River!

Santa Ynez River historically supported southern California's largest steelhead run, with as many as 30,000 fish making their annual upstream migration to spawn in the river's tributaries. The construction of Bradbury Dam in the mid-1900s restricted access to spawning areas and reduced the steelhead population to its current size of 200 fish. While farmers, water agencies, and enviros debate the best way to transport fish around the dam, Earth First! calls for complete removal of the dam, restoration of the submerged valleys, and widespread water conservation to compensate for the loss of the Cachuma Reservoir water supply.

### Santa Maria Mining Equipment Sabotaged!

The Kaiser Sand and Gravel Company, which conducts extensive mining operations in the Sisquoc River near Santa Maria, discovered that someone poured sand into the transmissions of 6 pieces of heavy equipment, destroying the machines' engines and causing \$250,000 damage. Company officials insisted that it was not the work of an amateur.

### Unocal Trashes Central California Coast

Unocal admitted to leaking 8.5 million gallons of diluent for almost 4 decades at its Guadalupe Dunes oil operations just north of the Santa Barbara County line. The diluent has contaminated the Santa Maria River and threatens 18 species of endangered dune plants and more than 200 bird species. In nearby Avila Beach, Unocal pipelines have tainted over 100,000 cubic yards of soil.

### UCSB Housing & the Isla Vista Seawall

A proposal by beach-front property owners along Del Playa Drive in the college community of Isla Vista have proposed the construction of a 14-foot tall, 1 mile long seawall to protect their homes from continued beach erosion. The seawall would restrict beach access, erode the beach, and look really ugly.

## SB Endangered Species

At least 27 animal and 30 plant species in Santa Barbara County and the nearby Channel Islands are classified as endangered, threatened, or rare, or proposed as such, by state and federal wildlife agencies. This dramatic loss of biodiversity has primarily resulted from loss of habitat due to intensive agricultural, residential, and commercial development; livestock overgrazing; the introduction of aggressive non-native species; and the use of DDT and other toxic pesticides.

The U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (FWS) is mandated by the Endangered Species Act (ESA) to conserve and restore species and habitats using only the best scientific data. However, FWS more often bases its decisions on political considerations. The agency's most recent political experiment with biodiversity is a proposal to prematurely remove 3 Santa Barbara species, including the Peregrine Falcon, Tidewater Goby, and Island Night Lizard, from the endangered species list.

The FWS maintains that these species have recovered to levels that no longer require legal protection under the ESA. Yet California's American Peregrine Falcon population barely exceeds 100 birds, and the state's top 5 Tidewater Goby experts are adamantly opposed to the delisting of the Tidewater Goby.

Recently, the ESA has come under increasing attack from farmers, developers, industry, and some large property owners who claim that the law's overly-restrictive provisions fail to provide for the successful recovery of endangered species. Could the FWS be staging the "recovery" of these 3 species in an attempt to falsely prove the questionable success of the ESA?

With the FWS's premature delisting proposal, and with an increasing number of species in Santa Barbara and elsewhere becoming eligible for endangered species listing, Santa Barbara Earth First! supports the strengthening of the ESA to prohibit any action that harms even one more endangered species.



Steelhead Trout  
(Oncorhynchus mykiss)



# EARTH FIRST!: AN INTRODUCTION

## The No-Compromise Environmental Movement

Since its emergence in the 1960s, modern environmentalism has made great achievements. Yet many activists have begun to question the legitimacy, tactics, and goals of today's movement. Earth First! is leading the call for a stronger, radically different environmental revolution.

### The Problem

Mainstream environmentalism has become increasingly entangled in politics and interest-group compromises. Over-reliance on technical quick-fixes and short-term public policy issues fails to address the underlying assumptions of economic growth and consumer capitalism. Grassroots community organizing is threatened by the expanding bureaucratic and hierarchical structure of mainstream groups with national headquarters, regional offices, boards of directors, and over-paid officers. And the movement is becoming co-opted by the very corporations that are responsible for today's environmental crisis.

### The Solution

Earth First! was founded in 1979 in response to this lethargic, compromising, and increasingly corporate environmentalism. With its motto of "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth!," EFi became the sole advocate of direct action and non-violent civil disobedience to defend our remaining wild places.

Earth First! is not a membership organization; rather, we are an activist movement. We have no central headquarters, but instead consist of tightly-knit, autonomous local groups from over one dozen countries. We have no decision-making boards or paid officers; our decisions are only reached through consensus, and activists are encouraged to attain their own leadership potential. We act from clear, Deep Ecological principles, and we NEVER compromise!

## Direct Action Gets the Goods!

We believe that the situation we face is so serious, and the changes demanded by it so massive, that the only solution is for people to take the future into their own hands and physically halt the destruction of the natural world. By advocating and practicing direct action, EFi seeks to achieve its ends through the most direct and immediately effective means. This sometimes requires lawful demonstrations, rallies, or street theater. When left with no other legal options, we will take the law into our own hands through civil disobedience. This involves the physical occupation of corporate or agency headquarters, banner hangings, road blockades, human lockdowns to bulldozers and other destruction equipment, and tree-sits. Whether lawful or unlawful, our actions *always* adhere to the principles of non-violence.

## Deep Ecology: Cultivating an Ecological Consciousness

*"We believe that we may not need something new, but need to reawaken something very old, to reawaken our understanding of Earth wisdom. In the broadest sense, we need to accept the invitation to the dance--the dance of unity of humans, plants, animals, the Earth. We need to cultivate an ecological consciousness."*  
--Bill Devall & George Sessions

Working within the confines of the conventional political system to solve our continuing environmental crisis often delivers short-term victories. However, such a "shallow" strategy inevitably fails to address the underlying cultural and philosophical causes of our environmental destruction. Earth First! leads a growing alliance of activists calling for "deeper" change.

The distinction between Shallow and Deep Ecology was introduced in 1973 by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess. Shallow Ecology is only concerned with the environmental crisis and its immediate effects on human health and affluence. Deep Ecology, on the other hand, rejects such an anthropocentric approach and instead focuses on individual and cultural transformation through the "cultivation of an ecological consciousness."

Deep Ecology challenges us to develop an alternative holistic philosophy to replace the dominant worldview that is responsible for our current crisis. We need to expand our awareness of the actuality and interconnectedness of rocks, wolves, trees, and rivers. And we need to act from clear principles. Devall and Sessions have suggested the following Deep Ecological principles:

- The well-being and flourishing of human and non-

human life on Earth have value in themselves. These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes;

- Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are values in themselves;
- Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy *vital* needs;
- The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of non-human life requires such a decrease;
- Human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening;
- Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present;
- The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating *life quality* rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great; and
- Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

Earth First! encourages people to elaborate their own Deep Ecological principles, clarify key concepts, and realize the consequences of acting from such principles.

# SANTA BARBARA EARTH FIRST!

## REVOLUTION (continued from front page)

### Our Local Movement

Last year, local activists gathered to discuss the arrival of the Earth First! movement to Santa Barbara. Since then, we have received tremendous support from the local environmental community and are currently launching our first intensive direct action campaign to defend Santa Barbara's last remaining wildlands.

We are actively monitoring the status of several looming threats to our local ecosystems, and

### Monkeywrenching Anyone?

Monkeywrenching is the purposeful dismantling or disabling of objects used in environmentally-destructive practices at a specific site.

When all other tactics have failed, monkeywrenching represents the final step in the defense of the wild. Typical examples include pulling up survey stakes, decommissioning bulldozers, and altering or removing billboards. Specific targets are always deliberately chosen for their strategic value. Monkeywrenching is nonviolent and never directed against humans or other beings.

While Earth First! neither condones nor condemns monkeywrenching, we do encourage thoughtful discourse on the effectiveness and morality of such tactics.

### Non-Violence Code

- Our attitude is one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all people and our environment.
- We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any being.
- We will not condone the indiscriminate and senseless destruction of property.
- We will not carry or use firearms, explosives, or other weapons.
- We will not carry or use alcohol or drugs, other than for medical purposes, during actions.

are prepared to rapidly and effectively mobilize activists wherever and whenever necessary. Our activist training workshops empower the community and provide a forum to discuss tactics. And there's always that good ol' civil disobedience, where we directly and non-violently halt Earth destruction at its source.

### What YOU Can Do

Send us your completed statement of support (see below) and we will contact you for direct action alerts. In the meantime, organize an affinity group of close friends, throw a monkeywrench into the system, never compromise, and most importantly, don't get caught! Earth First!

## SUPPORT THE UNCOMPROMISING DEFENSE OF SANTA BARBARA'S WILDLANDS!

- ☐ YES! I SUPPORT THE VISION OF THE SANTA BARBARA EARTH FIRST! MOVEMENT.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ I WILL TAKE DIRECT ACTION TO DEFEND OUR LOCAL ENVIRONMENT AND WOULD LIKE MY NAME PLACED ON SBEF!'S "BEAT THE BULLDOZERS" ACTIVIST CONTACT LIST.

- ☐ I WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE SBEF!'S INFORMATIVE QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER.

- ☐ I WOULD LIKE TO CONTRIBUTE THE FOLLOWING ITEMS TO SBEF!:

☐ \$10 ☐ \$20 ☐ \$30 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$\_\_\_\_\_ other

☐ SUPPLIES (Contact SBEF! for our current "wish list" of supplies that are needed for actions.)

☐ SERVICES (Art, music, & other skills always needed! Describe any services you can provide.)

- ☐ WHERE/HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT SBEF!? \_\_\_\_\_

Please mail this statement of support and any donations to the address listed below. Checks can be made payable to Santa Barbara Earth First!. Our list of supporters, contributors, and "Beat the Bulldozers" activist contact list are kept confidential.

SANTA BARBARA EARTH FIRST! PO BOX 12799 SANTA BARBARA, CA 93107



# The Power of the People and Their Pastry

## On the Frontlines of the Round & Creamy Revolution

"Precisely because I do not have the beautiful words I need I call upon my acts to speak to you."

—NICARAGUAN SANDINISTA DAISY ZAMORA

Pies fly when you're having fun, and the militant anarchist bakers involved in the current pastry uprising have sure been having lots of fun lately!

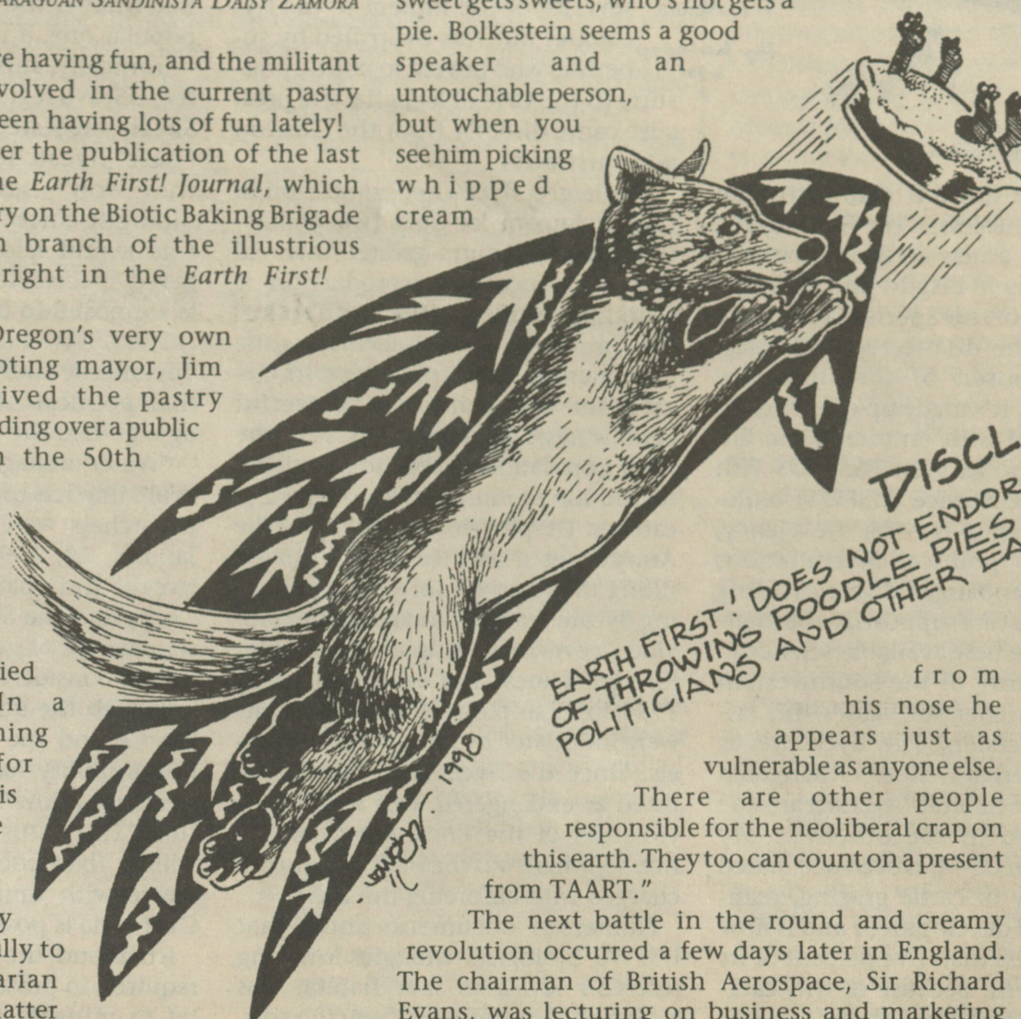
Only two days after the publication of the last (Yule) edition of the *Earth First! Journal*, which carried a lengthy story on the Biotic Baking Brigade (BBB), a Cascadian branch of the illustrious brigadistas struck right in the *Earth First! Journal's* backyard!

It was Eugene, Oregon's very own pepper-spray-promoting mayor, Jim Torrey, who received the pastry treatment while presiding over a public relations event on the 50th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (which the US has signed but never ratified nor observed). In a communiqué claiming responsibility for delivering Torrey his just desserts, the Cascadian BBB said they felt it was the epitome of hypocrisy for this privileged bully to pass out humanitarian actions awards, no matter how worthy the recipients were, after personally presiding over the June 1st Tree Massacre where police used massive amounts of tear gas and pepper spray on nonviolent activists during an action to protect designated Heritage Trees.

Agents Cowpie and Cherry-Rhubarb Tart, armed with two tasty homemade, organic apple pies, delivered the tribute and retreated without hindrance. Alas, Cowpie was apprehended the next day, and Torrey, lacking a sense of humor as well as a respect for human rights, chose to press charges. Agent Cherry-Rhubarb Tart managed to elude the authorities and remains underground in Cascadia, vowing, "They won't take me alive!"

Soon after the BBB struck in Oregon, another act of delicious mischief occurred in the city of Leiden, Holland. The Activist Group Against Authoritarian Anti-Revolutionary People (TAART) claimed responsibility. The target was Frits Bolkestein, former leader of the right-wing VVD party, who had just begun a public address when he received a tasteful vanilla-banana pie (vegan as well as organic) in his puffy face. A subsequent communiqué revealed that

TAART's motive was to protest free market fundamentalism and neoliberalism, adding, "Who's sweet gets sweets, who's not gets a pie. Bolkestein seems a good speaker and an untouchable person, but when you see him picking whipped cream



from his nose he appears just as vulnerable as anyone else.

There are other people responsible for the neoliberal crap on this earth. They too can count on a present from TAART."

The next battle in the round and creamy revolution occurred a few days later in England. The chairman of British Aerospace, Sir Richard Evans, was lecturing on business and marketing strategy at South London University when he was approached by a smartly dressed gentleman armed with a paper plate and a pressurized can of whipped cream. But Sir Richard's enormous bodyguards were swift to act and the phantom flan-flinger was forcibly removed from the building after a brief struggle. Politically aware infiltrators in the audience, however, managed to continue to disrupt Sir Richard's speech. Several members of the audience walked out in disgust after listening to hecklers describe how British Aerospace is a major supplier of the sophisticated killing machines the Indonesian military has used to murder thousands of East Timorese men, women and children. The hypocritical quote of that day came from Sir Richard when he announced, "I believe our industry has made an enormous contribution to world peace."

As promised, the folks from TAART were soon on the move again in Holland. This time the target was Dutch finance minister, Gerrit Zalm, who received two delicious vanilla-banana pies (100 percent organic) in his face to celebrate his contribution to the introduction of the Euro

currency and his support of the Economic and Monetary Union project.

TAART maintains the project is just another excuse for politicians and the corporate world to annoy the Europeans with budget-cuts and reorganizations. Calling the Euro "the next in a series of megalomaniacal plans, thought out by Euro-fanatics who only think in terms of economic growth, ideal circumstances for companies and the competing power of the European Union," TAART says they oppose a unified Europe in which monetary and economic interests prevail.

Soon after the Dutch hit, activity resumed on this side of the Atlantic with reports that the Canadian pieing movement,

*Les Entartistes*, had successfully delivered tasty comeuppances to the mayor of Montreal and four others, including the

American actor Sylvester

Stallone! Tartagnon, a *Les Entartistes* operative wrote, "Here in the province of

Quebec, the pieing is getting contagious. Students are pieing teachers, we've seen contests on TV. After our second pieing, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien was quoted in a major paper saying, 'It's a great honor for anyone to get pied,' and we now use that quote to protect us from being arrested."

Famous for pieing notable unaccountables like Nobel Laureate economist Milton Friedman, king of Monsanto Robert Shapiro and San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, the BBB has generated a media frenzy. News articles covering the brigade's acts of delicious mischief have appeared across the globe in every major newspaper, from the *New York Times* to the *Turkish Daily News*.

However, BBB agents proved they were no media sluts when they joined a growing number of prominent public figures, including death row inmate and political activist Mumia Abu-Jamal, in rejecting interviews with the American television conglomerate ABC. The National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians had been negotiating a new contract with ABC News, a unit of the Walt Disney Company, for almost two years. Citing the labor dispute between the corporation and its workers, BBB operatives declined an invitation to appear on ABC's Good Morning America program.

The *Journal* salutes the pie 'em all and let God sort 'em anarchist attitude and wickedly savory sense of humor shown by all the visionary social activists who have turned to whipped cream to make their political points. May they have continued success in holding the moral pie ground. As our delicious Agent Apple said recently in a warning to the rich, powerful and unaccountable figures the BBB targets, a warning that gets at the heart of the BBB's campaign of civil disobedience, "There's an oven in every home!"

—COMPILED BY TK

## FISHER FAMILY'S ETHICS GAP

BY FAITH RUBENSTEIN

A dead redwood is probably the last thing you would expect to see in one of the thousands of GAP, Old Navy or Banana Republic stores owned by the Fisher family of San Francisco, but if you make it to Mendocino County, California, stumps by GAP are exactly what you will find.

The Fisher family has purchased approximately 235,000 acres of second- and third-growth redwood forest and several mills from Louisiana Pacific (LP). Sadly, they have continued logging right where LP left off, targeting the few remaining stands of old growth. In September, the Sierra Club, Redwood Coast Watersheds Alliance and the Kaisen Gulch Group met with John Fisher, son of GAP founder, Donald Fisher. When the Kaisen Gulch group recommended protecting a small patch of old growth bordering the Albion River, Fisher responded in typical Chief Executive Officer fashion, "Who's going to pay for it?" With the GAP empire worth more than \$11 billion, the answer to that question should be obvious.

Unfortunately, the GAP's environmentally abusive nature doesn't end when the old giants fall. In true LP style, the Fisher family's timber company sprays clearcut areas with Garlon, a herbicide closely related to Agent Orange, a well-known carcinogen.

The GAP isn't being attacked only by environmentalists; labor activists are hot on its trail as well. The organizers of the GAP redwood picket teamed up

with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) to bash GAP for its foreign sweatshop operations. GAP workers in several foreign nations put in 14-hour days, seven days a week, for a fraction of what US workers make. In March 1997, Carmelite Alonzo, a sewing machine operator for VT Fashions in the Philippines, was killed by sweatshop working conditions. VT Fashions contracts to transnationals such as Head, Guess, Eddie Bauer, Ralph Lauren and the GAP. Carmelita worked compulsory 14-hour days, with eight hours forced overtime on Sundays for \$5.96 per day.

On November 27, National Buy Nothing Day, a nationwide network of groups threw another wrench into GAP's balancing act. On the busiest shopping day of the year, more than 45 groups held actions at GAP stores throughout the United States.

The coalition has called for a worldwide boycott of all GAP, Old Navy, Banana Republic and GAP Kids stores until the Fisher family abandons clearcutting and herbicides and faces up to its obscene labor practices. For more information contact the GAP Redwood Boycott Campaign, POB 90, Elk, CA 95432; (707) 877-3405; pirohuck@mcn.org; www.elksoft.com/gwa or www.gapsucks.org.





## BARE BONES

### Conservationists Buy One Percent of Maine

185,000 acres of remote wilderness in far northern Maine, nearly one percent of the state, will be purchased from a paper company and kept undeveloped and open forever thanks to the Nature Conservancy.

The 286-square miles of unbroken forest include a 40-mile stretch of the Upper St. John River in Maine's far northwestern corner, an area heavily populated by moose and bear. It has one of the highest concentrations of rare plants in the state.

The Upper St. John is "the premier wilderness river in the Northeast," said Kent Wommack, executive director of the Nature Conservancy in Maine. "When we asked ourselves how we can afford this, we then asked ourselves, 'How can we afford not to?'"

The group's \$35.1 million purchase from International Paper Co. comes less than a week after a \$76 million deal for the purchase of nearly 300,000 acres of forest land in New York, Vermont and New Hampshire, with the land preserved or forested and kept open to the public.

The deal comes amid growing worries about the recent sales of large blocks of Maine. Nearly 15 percent of the state's land has been sold in the last three months, largely to timber and paper companies, said Wommack. Maine is the nation's most heavily wooded state, with nearly 90 percent of it covered by forest.

### Poland Expands Bialowieza National Park

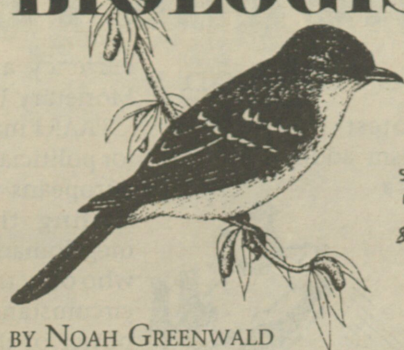
Starting in December 1999, Bialowieza National Park, the famous Polish park that encompasses the last primeval forest in all of Europe, will be six times its current size. As part of the most recent budget, the government of Poland allowed for a December 1999 enlargement of the area within the boundaries of Bialowieza from 105 square kilometers to 600 square kilometers. The enlargement will catapult Bialowieza from among the smaller to the largest national park in Poland. This inclusion of park expansion in the state budget is the latest positive result in a several-year struggle by Polish environmental organizations to protect Bialowieza, a primeval forest old enough to support large mammals such as wolf, wild boar and the huge European bison.

### Cyanide Mine Poisons Panama

In September the Panamanian government closed a Canadian-owned mine operating in Canazas. A government authority called the open pit mine's presence within the town, "unprecedented and unpardonable," and indeed, it is the only case of its kind in the world. Children from the town's secondary school had complained that the cyanide runoff passes behind the school dormitory, causing them to wake up dizzy, with vision problems, pain and irritation in their throats and lungs, as well as skin problems that never heal. Panamanian Ombudsman Italo Antinori was instrumental in closing the mine, saying after he visited the town, "All you have to do is stick out your tongue to taste cyanide, and even after a few hours of being here, you get irritated on the parts of your body that sweat, from the acid in the chemicals in the air. It is inhuman to subject a town to such a horrific contamination. Some houses in the town are only a few meters from vats of cyanide, and others have been cracked by the daily detonations."

# BIOLOGISTS REFUSE TO SELLOUT

## The Fight For the Flycatcher



SW WILLOW  
FLYCATCHER

BY NOAH GREENWALD

While the Clinton administration heralds the success of the Endangered Species Act, a new class of citizens is turning away in disgust and bemoaning the lack of true species protection. This time the disaffected underclass isn't composed of revolutionary biocentrists, it's made up of the scientists charged with enforcing the Endangered Species Act (ESA). US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) biologists have begun leaving the agency, citing gross political machinations controlling endangered species listing decisions that are supposed to be made based on the best available science.

The sad story of the Southwestern willow flycatcher showcases this scientific subversion. The flycatcher is one of America's most endangered songbirds. Its habitat—wet streamside forests found in the otherwise dry Southwestern US—has been decimated by a century of cattle grazing, dam-building and development and is now reduced to less than five percent of its original extent. Because of this catastrophic habitat loss, there are less than 500 pairs of flycatchers in small, isolated populations scattered throughout the Southwest. At such low numbers and with habitat losses continuing, extinction is imminent.

The USFWS has done little to protect flycatcher populations or habitat. Indeed, the agency had to be sued twice before it listed the flycatcher as endangered in 1995 and a third time before it designated critical habitat, which, for political reasons, excluded nearly half of all known populations. Since listing, the agency has allowed four critical populations to be destroyed and authorized the sacrifice of nearly a quarter of the population, mostly against the advice of its own biologists. In fact, the agency has essentially refused to protect the flycatcher and allowed every destructive project to continue unabated.

Whether faced with a dam expansion, federal grazing allotment, housing development or bridge, the USFWS, in every case, has refused to stop or alter projects to protect the flycatcher and its habitat. In total, the USFWS issued incidental take permits to kill flycatchers in over 120 territories. This systematic approval of habitat destruction and forfeit of entire populations prompted one of the agency's own biologist to name the USFWS as an agent of extinction: "The Southwestern willow flycatcher is being piecemealed to extinction; the service is turning a blind eye to the aggregate effects of its own consultation process. This internal denial is as insidious as cowbird parasitism."

The most catastrophic projects approved by the agency have destroyed four of the six largest flycatcher populations, all behind Army Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation dams, including the Hoover, Roosevelt and Isabella. In each case, an agency

biologist opposed the habitat destruction and attempted to propose alternatives to lessen the severity of the impact to the flycatcher but was overruled by superiors who bowed to political pressure. In the case of Isabella, the pressure came directly from the Clinton administration.

The largest flycatcher population in California, one of only two populations that supports greater than 25 pairs with successful reproduction, is found at the inflow of the South Fork of the Kern River to Lake Isabella. It is one of numerous California reservoirs created for the benefit of powerful agribusiness. Because of its size, the Kern population is absolutely critical to the long-term survival of the flycatcher. Despite this significance, the Army Corps of Engineers has been overfilling the reservoir for years, destroying flycatcher nests and habitat to provide an ever increasing supply of water for agribusiness and development. In 1995, for example, four flycatcher nests were inundated by rising reservoir levels. Since the flycatcher was already listed as endangered, this was a clear violation of the Endangered Species Act. So, where was the USFWS, which is charged with enforcing the ESA?

Numerous documents show that USFWS biologists thought lowering reservoir levels to save habitat was biologically necessary. Knowing this, the Army Corps and the water lobby recruited Representative Calvin Dooley (D-CA) to subvert the USFWS opposition. At the behest of powerful agricultural interests, which contributed \$216,299 to his campaign, Rep-

## The USFWS biologist did as told but documented in the biological opinion that political negotiation, not biology, guided the decision...

resentative Dooley wrote to Katie McGintie, head of President Clinton's Council on Environmental Quality, which oversees all federal environmental agencies, threatening a "controversy" over the Endangered Species Act. At the behest of McGintie, John Garamandi, assistant secretary of Interior, ordered the USFWS to only consider alternatives that do not limit the reservoir size, thus sealing the fate of the Isabella flycatchers.

But this game of say-so wasn't enough. In direct violation of the law, Garamandi organized meetings between the USFWS, Dooley, the Army Corps, and the Kern River Water Master and arranged for Dooley to review proposed measures to mitigate the habitat destruction, which he consistently vetoed. Prior to the release of the biological opinion determining what action would be taken to protect the flycatcher, Garamandi and Dooley appeared together in a press conference announcing there was "no problem" at Lake Isabella and "business as usual" could continue.

A Garamandi memo to the biologists in charge of the Isabella fiasco, in which he says, "the Endangered Species Act is more endangered than the flycatcher," is characteristic of the Clinton administration's ESA policy. The old argument goes: If we ever seriously tried to enforce environmen-

tal laws, the subsequent public outcry would cause their repeal. Therefore, we must never seriously enforce them. But what is the use of a law, even a popular one, if it's not enforced?

Ironically, another Clinton appointee, USFWS regional director Michael Spear, suggested the agency should "haze" flycatchers at Lake Isabella so they won't nest. In response, the biologist correctly pointed out that this would also violate the Endangered Species Act, which the agency is supposed to be enforcing.

The USFWS biologist did as told but documented in the biological opinion that political negotiation, not biology, guided the decision:

"Water management alternatives to avoid impacts to Southwestern willow flycatchers were not addressed after January 29, 1996, when representatives of the Department of Interior, the Corps and the Service made a public statement that such alternatives would not be considered for the 1996 water year with the understanding that the Service and the Corps would accept responsibility for any take of Southwestern willow flycatchers." As a result, "The status of the southwestern willow flycatcher is expected to decrease with time... extirpation from California is possible, even likely."

In the end, the Army Corps was only required to protect 360 acres of habitat to mitigate the loss of nine flycatcher pairs and up to 1,100 acres of native habitat. It eventually protected only 95 acres of the required 360, of which only a portion is riparian and all is grazed. Though its failure to complete the mitigation measures

should have prevented the Army Corps from continuing to flood habitat, the USFWS was too demoralized to even inform the Army Corps of its latest violation. Following the Isabella fiasco, the biologist who authored the biological opinion voluntarily moved to a position that does not involve endangered species issues.

At Lake Mead, the Fish and Wildlife biologist trying to protect the flycatcher was similarly bullied by powerful political interests. He quit. It's a pattern repeated too often across the West.

Though USFWS's sole responsibility is the protection and enhancement of wildlife, increasingly politics guides its actions. Fish and Wildlife biologists are leaving the agency in droves and those with integrity that stay are under constant pressure. When Clinton and Babbitt are through both the flycatcher and the good biologists in the agency will be extinct.

For more information about saving the Southwestern willow flycatcher contact the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity, POB 710, Tucson, Arizona 85702-0710; (520) 623-5252.

For information about supporting honest biologists working for government agencies contact Leon Fager, Public Employees for Environmental Ethics, 2500 Chip Court, Rio Rancho, New Mexico 87124; (505) 891-1906; desert@SWCP.com; www.peer.org.



# Earth First! Journal

## RRReaders SURVEY

Dear Reader,

Never let it be said that the *Journal* isn't interested in hearing what all you Earth First!ers think about your paper. Readers are always encouraged to express their opinion, and the letters to the editors section hasn't been called "Dear Shit fer Brains" all these years for nuthin'. Hey, thanks for sharing, everyone!

At last June's Round River Rendezvous, the staff conducted a little proactive intelligence gathering on movement sentiment, and the results, presented below, are certainly informative. The current collective anticipates a lively debate about the *Journal* at the Organizers Conference, and we look forward to receiving your input. See ya in Mexico.

Yours truly, for the wild and ready to duck,

—LAS JOURNALISTAS

Number of respondents in bold.

- Sex: male, 52; female, 16; none, 9
- Age: 16-20, 10; 21-30, 34; 31-40, 21; 41-50, 9; 51 or elder, 3
- What type of human habitat do you inhabit?  
urban/city, 41  
suburbia, 6  
rural/farming community, 16  
"I live in the woods, man", 11  
neighborhood bar, 5
- Do you have any children?  
yes, 9; no, 65
- Highest level of industrial education endured:  
elementary, 1  
high school, 2  
some college, 18  
college grad, 19  
graduate work, 11  
professional school, 5  
Ph.D., 0  
self-enlightenment, 10
- Annual income: less than \$500, 7;  
\$500-4,000, 16; \$4,000-10,000, 17;  
\$10,000-20,000, 9; \$20,000-40,000, 3;  
\$40,000 or higher, 3
- Are you active with a local EF! group? yes, 30; no, 23; kinda, 4
- Have you ever been to an eco-action of any kind? yes, 53; no, 3
- Have you ever been arrested during an eco-action, and are you willing to do it again?  
yes, 32; no, 14; no, but willing, 9
- What environmental groups do you belong to?  
Greenpeace, 2; Sierra Club, 9;  
Audubon, 4; Sea Shepherd, 3; Nat'l Wildlife Federation, 0; The Wilderness Society, 0
- What publications do you read?  
*Wild Earth*, 16; *Earth Island Journal*, 11;  
*High Country News*, 10; *Threshold*, 7;  
*Inner Voice*, 4; *Forest Voice*, 17; *No Compromise*, 17; *Underground*, 8;  
*Anarchy*, 5; *Fifth Estate*, 5; *Green Anarchist*, 5; *Do or Die*, 10; *LWOD*, 45; *E Magazine*, 4
- How would you rate the performance of the current EF! *Journal* staff?  
excellent (inspiring, the best), 29  
good (I could do better), 21  
poor (my dog could do better), 0  
abysmal, out of control (take 'em out 'n shoot 'em), 0  
underpaid/overworked, 20
- What material do you like best in the *Journal*?  
action articles, 30  
eco-political analysis, 17  
eco-philosophy, 16  
investigative reporting, 16  
artsy writing/poetry, 16  
monkeywrenching tips, 27  
backbiting letters and infighting (be honest), 16
- Do you think the content of the *Journal* is: too insidey, 20; too unclear, 8; just right, 20; depressing,

7; empowering, 19

- Do you think it is appropriate for the *Journal* to report on armed eco-defense? yes, 53; no, 3
- Would you support changing the format of the *Journal* to a magazine-style if it would boost circulation, i.e., the *Journal* to appear on the shelves of most corporate bookstore chains?  
yes, 34; no, 16
- Do you think the *Journal* should serve more as an information tool within the movement or as an outreach tool for the movement?  
info, 6; outreach, 9; both, 35
- Are you a subscriber to the EF! *Journal*? yes, 23; no, 33

Below are representative samples of the responses we received to the essay question: "What would you change about the *Earth First! Journal*?"

"*Journal* needs more sex, paganism, native/indigenous news/articles, practical info on squatting, hoboing, urban survival, making money to support actions and tribal lifestyle psychedelics—Terence McKenna, Native American church, etc., Futurism! visioning where we want to go and how to get there as in Starhawk's book, *The Fifth Sacred Thing*."

"Always be broken up into bite-sized chunks. I wish there was more how-to information. Sometimes I think articles need more focus. I think the obvious EF! culture is present, but it does come across as cliquish. So I wish the diversity of the EF! movement was represented as not all of us are pagan hippies. I like the efforts to draw the animal rights and environmental movements together—I'd like to see more of that. I like how-to articles from knowledgeable and experienced people on strategy, tactics, logistics, etc. The more technical and detailed the articles are the better."

"The EF! *J* used to have more biting funny articles (which at the same time were very informative). It'd be nice if we could get more of that. Also, the conservation biology stuff was (and is) very informative and gave me a lot of confidence and desire to act. It'd be nice to have more of that. And more deep ecology talk. I'd also like to see more respect for our history. Maybe a new feature "20 Years Ago Today" where an excerpt from the *Journal* edition 20 years ago is reprinted. Another possibility is a timeline, with the old *Journal* digested and presented in outline."

"More news, less drivel. Better effort to cover the continent/world, less focus on western US. More timely coverage of news from the nether-regions (like in Virginia! Yo!), you persons do a great job. The *Journal* is really thick. I think it could be smaller and cheaper. I realize it would be difficult to cut stuff out, but we might

start with Wolves and Poodles and put some limits on Shit fer Brains—stuffs funny, but it ain't that funny six times a year. We might diversify our readership by covering more urban and social-enviro issues. Keep up the good work and thanks."

"Keep the controversy alive; fruitcakes are always an impetus and inspiration."

"Unless one is familiar with each campaign, the action articles all sort of seem the same: 1) Something terrible is going on; 2) A small handful of people are putting themselves on the line; 3) The authorities are behaving badly; 4) Things look grim; 5) The reader feels despair. Otherwise, I appreciate the variety of articles, editorials and how-to stories."

"More stuff about the UK actions and Australia cuz we have lots to learn from them and their EF! movement. Expand the letters page, it's a good way to check us with the place folks are at. It's been good to see more open-mindedness about animal issues and direct action. Occasional ideas for fundraising. I appreciate how much y'all seem to work to get everyone's opinions. It's awesome that it's free for prisoners."

"I am very happy to see an increase in the coverage of other issues, animal lib, Zapatista, etc. I hope it continues and grows. I am also pleased to see you are allowing those who might disagree with the nonviolence thing the space to air their opinions and beliefs. I certainly hope you would never not write about or cover an action/happening related to the environment or animal lib simply because it could be characterized as violent. Whether you agree or not, these events are important to know about and write about. Overall, I think the *Journal* has been improving lately and is an excellent publication. Rock!"

"Rid us of all the man-hating eco-feminist bullshit and vegetarian crap. Eat meat, fuck, eat meat, burn a dozer, spike a tree, eat meat."

"I like the playful, non-self serious tone of the *Journal*. Gallows humor helps break the tension. Do not take it mainstream! The masses don't want to stop their denial and won't pay attention anyway. Mainstreaming it will kill the *Journal* and the movement. Remember, remember, Carl Pope, Dave Foreman and Adam W. Evil! Evil! Evil! Bring back John Muir's dream. Fight Chevrolet using Muir quotes to sell sports utility vehicles."

"I think there should be more coverage of lots of small grassroots movements around the country—especially the ones that are not the most cutting-edge or innovative direct action techniques but have the same heartfelt commitment and inspiration that causes people at Headwaters and Cascadia to spend their lives defending forests. Maybe you don't get many articles about these campaigns—but could you solicit them?"

"Solicit more writers/articles from outside the Northwest EF! clique. Like to see more on guerrilla action/training tactics, history and some successful tactics used by past guerrilla movements."

"I know you folks bust your ass to get the *Journal* out and that you want to put out the best rag with your limited budget. I, for one, appreciate your efforts and look forward to the changes to come. I'm sure you may feel under-appreciated, but folks do care about the *Journal* and are glad it's around. Thank you so much for all your hard work."

## BARE BONES

### Pepper Spray Kryptonite

Though it may seem the cops increasingly use pepper spray in a cruel and inhumane manner to overcome passive resistance, activists can rest assured that the cops are developing new toys to limit their liability. "BodyGuard Rescue," made by Phoenix-based Guardian Personal Security Products, claims to be a "pepper spray/teargas neutralizer and clean up agent." "BodyGuard Rescue is fast becoming the product of choice among government and police agencies throughout the world. Proven to work effectively... BodyGuard Rescue will minimize recovery times, reducing your agencies exposure to liability."

Plus, BodyGuard Rescue "can be used for field decontamination, lessening the chance of infection from harmful and hazardous germs and viruses"—finally, a way to neutralize dirty hippies.

To find out more about BodyGuard Rescue, contact the manufacturers at 21639 North 14th Ave., Phoenix, AZ 85027; (800) 527-4434.

### Police Gather Jean Prints

Earth First!ers take note: The FBI photograph unit has discovered that blue jeans can be used to identify criminals in much the same way as fingerprints. Blue jeans fade and wear in distinctive patterns, offering a sort of textile fingerprint far beyond just the length of inseam, body shape or distinctive marks imprinted by a wallet or can of snuff. Already a bank robber in Spokane, Washington, has been convicted based on the unique features of his JC Penney jeans. Police couldn't positively place the robber at the scene of the crime but proved with video footage that his jeans were there.

### Fungicide Congress, Not Cannabis!

The United States government is spending \$23 million to develop a killer fungus to wipe out marijuana plants, a dangerous plan that could cause an environmental catastrophe according to some critics. The soil-borne fungus, a mycoherbicide, would attack and kill marijuana, poppy and coca plants. US officials say the fungus could be released in such South American countries as Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. Unfortunately, it would also constitute a biohazard that could have disastrous impacts on the target ecosystems. If it attacked other plants with similar alkaloids, it could wipe out crops like tobacco and coffee. Some say it might also cause plants to develop stronger chemical defenses against the fungus, which could mutate and spread to other plants, creating herbicide-resistant weeds.

### McLibel Lives

On January 12, the indefatigable Helen Steel and David Morris were in court again to challenge the use of English libel laws as a form of censorship and to overturn the parts of a previous verdict that went against them in a controversial case brought by McDonalds.

After the longest trial in English history, a judge found last June that McDonald's food lacks nutritional benefit and causes heart disease and that the company "exploits children," causes animal cruelty and pays low wages. Nonetheless, the judge awarded McDonalds £60,000 because other charges that the two made against McDonalds were not proven. Now Steel and Morris are asking in their appeal that multinational corporations no longer be able to sue for libel.



## BARE BONES

### Companies Swear "No Old Growth"

Twenty-seven US corporations have pledged to stop using old growth forest products. The December announcement included no timeline but was called the most-significant step towards phasing out old growth wood products to date.

The effort to reduce US consumption of the world's ancient forests is spearheaded by the Coastal Rainforest Coalition (CRC), which represents a broad array of Canadian and US environmental organizations, including the Natural Resources Defense Council, Greenpeace and Rainforest Action Network.

Companies including Kinko's, Hallmark and Hewlett-Packard have agreed to survey their suppliers to ensure they are not purchasing products made from old growth.

According to the CRC, the companies making these commitments account for over one billion dollars of the annual US market for paper, pulp and packaging.

"The commitments made by these companies prove that corporate America can be a force for saving the world's last ancient forests," said Michael Marx, executive director of the CRC.

### Flow Stanchied

It was common knowledge that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) would be bad for the environment when it passed in 1993. But only now are environmentalists beginning to understand the many complex legal contortions that can put the environments of all member countries at risk. Canada's NAFTA woes are particularly notable.

With the blessings of the provincial government, two separate companies in Northern Ontario and Newfoundland have plans to export huge quantities of fresh water. Though the federal government opposes such large-scale exports of water, it has no laws to prevent it. Once the water is traded internationally, Canada won't be able to impose restrictions on shipments to the US or Mexico. "The moment that any province allows one drop for export... NAFTA says you have to give US corporations 'national treatment rights,' which means the same access to our water as any Canadian company," says Maude Barlow, chair of the nationalist Council of Canadians.

If the practice is banned, American companies could seek compensation for lost profits. The bills could be colossal. Already, a US shipping company, Sun Belt Water Inc., is seeking \$200 million in compensation because the BC government has refused to export water to California.

### Lynx Given Go Ahead

In December, a federal judge allowed the reintroduction of the Canada lynx to the wilderness of Colorado, despite the objections of ranchers. The Colorado Farm Bureau Federation and the Colorado Cattlemen's Association argued the program would result in restrictions to grazing and ranching on public lands and cited a lack of environmental analysis for the reintroduction. About 40 to 50 lynx are to be captured in Alaska and Canada and released in the Weminche Wilderness Area and Gunnison National Forest. So far only two lynx have been captured.

# Cassini Probe Puts Earth at Risk

By KARL GROSSMAN

Reliable. That's what NASA claimed last year about the Titan 4 rocket used to loft the Cassini space probe loaded with 72.3 pounds of plutonium dioxide, the most deadly plutonium ever put on a space device. The fiery explosion on launch this summer of an identical Titan 4 rocket, following the 1993 explosion in California of yet another Titan 4, gives lie to the NASA claim.

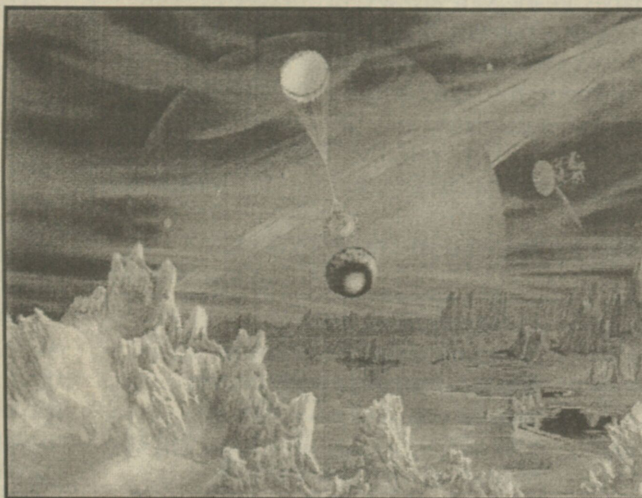
There have now been two catastrophic accidents in the 25 Titan 4 launches. That's a one-in-12 severe accident rate. Reliable? If you knew your Chevy or Honda had a one-in-12 likelihood of blowing up upon starting, you would not take that ride.

But here is the US government insisting that a volatile rocket be shot up over Florida carrying chemical and/or nuclear poisons. It remains unclear what poisons were dispersed in the August 12, 1998 Titan 4 explosion, but there have been uncorroborated reports that nuclear materials might have been involved. Government authorities have issued unusual orders demanding people stay away from the debris.

This summer's Titan 4 explosion demonstrated that opponents of the Cassini mission were absolutely right: There was a high probability of the Titan 4 that lofted Cassini blowing up on launch and showering Florida with plutonium. Although NASA managed to launch the Cassini space probe successfully last October 15, the probe and its 72.3 pounds of plutonium are coming back, with even greater potential for disaster. On August 18, 1999, NASA intends to have Cassini conduct an extremely dangerous flyby of Earth. Unless NASA can be stopped—and there is a major move underway to try to do so—it plans to have the probe and its plutonium fuel do a slingshot maneuver of Earth, using the planet's gravity to increase the velocity of Cassini so it can reach its final destination of Saturn.

Cassini is supposed to come flying in at 42,300 miles per hour just 496

miles overhead. If there is a rocket misfire or other malfunction and the probe makes what NASA terms an inadvertent reentry into the Earth's 75-mile-high atmosphere, it would



Cassini's star wars against Saturn

break up and plutonium would rain down, which NASA admits in its Final Environmental Impact Statement on the Cassini mission. If that happens, five billion of the estimated seven to eight billion world population at the time, says the statement, could receive 99 percent or more of the radiation exposure. A safety evaluation report done for the White House by the Interagency Nuclear Safety Review Panel (which included NASA) says such a Cassini flyby accident could cause several tens of thousands of latent cancer fatalities worldwide.

Independent scientists say casualties could be much higher—hundreds of thousands or millions dying. The Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space is seeking to get NASA to redirect the Cassini probe to the sun to be consumed, rather than risk such a loss of life on Earth in a flyby accident. Certainly, Cassini's widely reported but unexplained engineering problem in January, which caused the spacecraft's operations to revert to "safe-mode," is worrisome.

But even if NASA can't be stopped and the Cassini flyby works, there is still much more nuclear danger ahead. The General Accounting Office said in a May 1998 report that NASA is currently studying eight future space missions between 2000 and 2015 that will likely use nuclear-fueled electric generators.

These nuclear shots would be launched from Florida with the Titan 4 as a principle delivery vehicle. NASA began a shift to using the Titan 4 for its nuclear missions in the wake of the 1986 Challenger accident—the next mission of the ill-fated Challenger was to loft a plutonium-fueled space probe.

Pressure from Lockheed Martin (which manufactures the plutonium systems for space devices as well as the Titan 4), the nuclear-boosting US Department of Energy and the national nuclear labs has much to do with NASA's instance on the life-threatening use of nuclear power on space devices. Then there is the military connection. The US military is seeking to deploy

spaceborne weaponry, especially lasers. As a 1996 Air Force report states: In the next two decades, new technologies will allow the fielding of space-based weapons of devastating effectiveness.

What can you do? Immediately get in touch with Bruce Gagnon, coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space, POB 90083, Gainesville, Florida 32607; (352) 337-9274; globenet@afn.org. Join the challenge to the madness of nuclearizing and weaponizing space.

Get a copy of the just-released videotape "Nukes In Space 2: Unacceptable Risks," which is about the planned Cassini Earth flyby, NASA's other planned nuclear shots and the US military's desire to deploy space-based nuclear-powered weapons. "Nukes In Space 2: Unacceptable Risks" is available for \$21.95 from EnviroVideo, Box 311, Ft. Tilden, NY 11695; 1-800-ECO-TV46. Log on to the Stop Cassini Earth Flyby web site at <http://www.nonviolence.org/noflyby>.

Karl Grossman is professor of journalism at the State University of New York/College at Old Westbury where he teaches environmental journalism and investigative reporting. He is the author of *The Wrong Stuff: The Space Program's Nuclear Threat To Our Planet* (Common Courage Press, 1 Red Barn Road, Monroe, Maine 04951; 1-800-497-3207).

## Pine Clones

What do you call a forest of eerily identical pine trees? Yep. Pine clones.

One day every commercial Christmas tree in the world could be perfect, identical, engineered not to drop its needles until the third week of January.

Christmas trees are on the short list for large-scale cloning. Already, temperate pines (used for lumber in the US) and tropical eucalyptus (used for pulp and paper) are being genetically designed, robotically cloned and planted. At the forefront of commercial tree cloning is an Australian biotechnology company, ForBio.

Trees have been tinkered with through crossbreeding and cloning for at least 40 years. What's new is the ability to reach directly into the DNA of trees, turn their genes on or off, add new ones and then clone them on a scale never possible before. "We can make a 50 to 100 percent increase in the size of the tree, change the number of branches per trunk, change the spacing between branches, manipulate the angle that the branches come off the tree, regulate its growing time and make it sterile so that its genes cannot get into the gene pool of natural forests," says ForBio cofounder Bob Teasdale. "With the technology available right now, you can do almost anything." In fact, he claims, "The ability to engineer enormous numbers of trees for commercial use should reduce some of the pressure on native forests."

ForBio has an exclusive license from DuPont to employ a gene mapping technique called RAPD. It allows scientists to select out the genes they want from plant tissues and to construct tissues that carry all of the desired traits. If genes are desired that aren't in the natural gene pool, the scientists can inject them. Insect resistance is one that is commonly added to the mix. They then propagate those tissues into new plants and use large-scale robotics to make thousands or millions of identical copies of their supertree.

The robotics used by ForBio are unique to the tree and plant industry. Robots perform the tedious cutting and planting of the clippings into a special growth medium. The robots can cut and plant 15,000 cuttings per day versus the 1,000 per day that humans can manage. That scale is what makes it possible to consider creating genetically engineered forests for commercial use.

ForBio's goal is to produce 50-million trees per year by 2003. One and a half million of the company's genetically engineered trees were in the ground by the end of 1998 in Hawaii, Australia, Indonesia and New Zealand.

The company is also developing decaffeinated coffee plants, potatoes and date palms.

If ForBio is successful in planting its millions of identical trees around the world for years to come, it could begin to reshape the look of many of the world's forests. The company's motto, "Better Plants Faster," is food for thought.

—INFORMATION FROM USA TODAY



# Dear Ned Ludd

DEAR NED LUDD is an irregular feature in the *Earth First! Journal* for discussion of creative means of effective defense of the earth. Neither the *Earth First!* movement nor the *Earth First! Journal* necessarily encourage anyone to do any of the things discussed in DEAR NED LUDD. Send us your submissions.



## Night Scopes 101—Seeing In The Dark

By I.C. GREEN

As the fate of our ecosystems hangs in the balance with every passing day, letting the nights pass without action becomes more difficult. But night work is much more of a risk than ever before because of increased security and technology. If you need to spot security guards or dogs or find objects under the canopy of the darkened forest, then the following information may be of assistance to you.

The first type of night vision was developed during World War II. It is known as an infrared (IR) spotting scope or active night vision. It works by projecting infrared light waves on the target area. The scope lets you see the reflections of infrared light. The biggest drawback to this technology is that, though the infrared is invisible to the naked eye, to someone else using infrared, it looks like you are shining a spotlight.

The next type of night vision developed is known by a number of names. Moonlight, starlight and passive night vision all work on the same basic principle: They take ambient light and

amplify it through a phosphorus screen that turns everything green. Most passive night vision equipment also has an IR illuminator, which you can turn on and off, so that you can still illuminate the area when there is not enough ambient light to see. This type of night vision was developed in three generations (denoted by manufacturers as I, II, II+, III and III+). The biggest difference between the generations is how much they amplify light. Generation I, which amplifies by a thousand times, is basically useless in less than full moonlight. Generation II (20,000 times amplification) works down to about one-fourth moonlight and is good for urban environments (II+ especially), and Generation III (30,000-50,000 times amplification) works with very little light and considerable cloud cover. The generations are also distinguished by the duration of the image intensifier tubes that amplify the light. Generation III will outlast Generation I by about 8,000 hours. Financial considerations aside, it is best to get the highest generation you can afford because the intensifier tubes usually

represent 50-70 percent of the cost of the equipment. Generation III for example would probably never have to be replaced unless you were using it constantly.

Most passive night vision systems run on AA or AAA batteries, though some sophisticated ones require special sizes. A key consideration for night vision equipment is what you need for your work. If you intend to use it when actively moving through the woods, goggles are best. Most scopes (which are suitable for surveillance and night action security) have some sort of a magnification factor, making it difficult to walk in the dark. Scopes are far less expensive and more readily available, while goggles and binoculars are more expensive and usually only available if you order them from a manufacturer. None of this equipment is illegal.

One important thing to remember is to not become dependent on this equipment. The phosphorus screen that amplifies the light is not good for your eyes, and using the equipment also makes you lose your night sight temporarily. So be careful. Stay safe.

## Break Your Buggy

Excuses, excuses, everyday more excuses: My nose is a little stuffy, I need to pick up some groceries, I'm late, I'm feeling lazy today. Everyday excuses for why you should drive the car to work or play. But you need to face facts, in this day and age of terrible air and the greenhouse effect, your reasons are pathetic. Give up! No excuse is strong enough. You simply shouldn't drive.

In our world of cushy seats and nicely heated automobile interiors, it's so tough to motivate. It's so difficult to give up your morning privacy to take the bus. God forbid trying to eat your morning bagel and drink coffee while you ride a bike to work. But I have a solution to your motivational woes—monkeywrench your car.

That's right. Get out your tools and just do it. Pull out

a spark plug or two. Go ahead, break the habit, remove the points from your distributor, unclip the starter or simply stop filling the tank with gas. Your unthinking morning shuffle to the office will all of a sudden take some forethought and work. You will have to really want to drive. Simply unclipping the battery won't be enough to deter most determined drivers, but flattening a tire or two will certainly cramp your auto style.

Today is the day to pull the plug on your addiction. You must. Gas prices are at a historical low; the atmosphere is full of crap, and you and your housemates don't even carpool. Nonlethal car management may be your only choice. Take the step. Stop your auto's forward momentum; every little bit does make a difference.

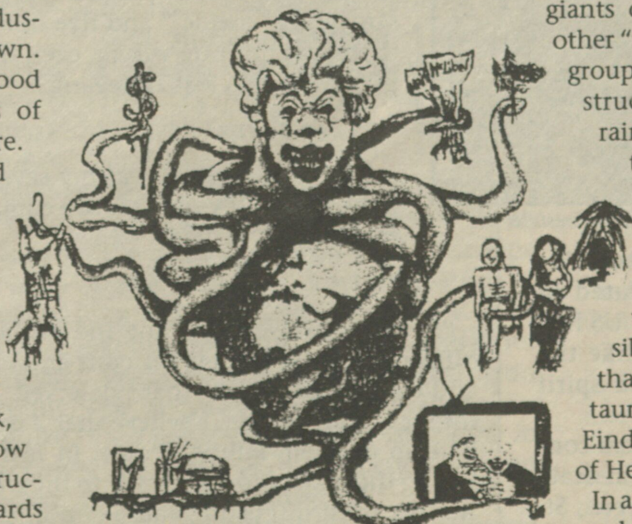
Roommates car got you down? Try a potato shoved firmly up the tailpipe. They will thank you for helping them break the hideous cycle of car dependency.

## EARTH NIGHT ACTIONS\*\*\*\*EARTH NIGHT ACTIONS\*\*\*\*EARTH NIGHT ACTIONS

### CHESTNUTS ROASTING ON AN OPEN FIRE

'Twas the night after Christmas when all through the dark ran a few little earth savers with torches. They chose an unoccupied office in the small town of White City, Oregon, and set to work long before dawn. The US Forest Industries mill office was burned down. No tears will be shed, for good guys they weren't, overseers of death and destruction they were. Home office of many a mill and wood plant, they were protested for their management of Taylor Ranch, Colorado. The flames ran over this conglomerated mess, destroying the base of veneer, plywood, stud mill and sawmill plants; burned was their paperwork, disks and files. The ELF has now claimed this great feat of destruction, costing the industry upwards of \$500,000. So for all those who

fight so late in the night choose your targets with thought and keep up the good fight. But most important of all, which we can't yell too loud, don't ever forget whatever you do don't get caught.



### BOMBS AWAY...

The Earth Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for bomb scares that evacuated at least six McDonald's restaurants across the Netherlands. Accusing the fast food giants of cruelty to animals and other "foul practices," the militant group was angry about the destruction of South American rainforests for beef, as well as the poor and overcrowded conditions in which millions of cattle, pigs and chickens are raised.

It was unclear whether the group was also responsible for two other bomb scares that emptied McDonald's restaurants in the Dutch city of Eindhoven and the nearby town of Helmond.

In all of the threats, police bomb squads found no explosives.

## Frontlines

### Protest In Israel

Greenpeace activists blocked the entrance of fertilizer producer Haifa Chemicals on December 8 in response to a new sea dumping permit issued to the company by Israeli authorities. The company will be allowed to dump an additional 2,000 tonnes a month until March 31, 1999, even though the Israeli environmental minister had promised in July to stop toxic sludge dumping by the end of 1998.

Activists dressed in white overalls and black chemical masks chained themselves to the main gate and prevented plant employees and trucks from entering or leaving. Two activists climbed a stack in the plant and displayed a banner saying, "Stop Sea Dumping." The protest ended after an hour when police dispersed the demonstration. Fourteen demonstrators were detained for questioning and later released.

During the past 13 years, Haifa Chemicals has dumped about 650,000 tonnes of toxic waste into the Mediterranean. In May 1995, Greenpeace activists stopped the dump ship *Aribel* from leaving Haifa Bay and heading to the dump site. The then minister of environment promised that the dumping would stop forever in 1996.

In July 1997 Greenpeace activists used their ship *Sirius* to tow a barge used to dump toxic sludge. The barge was held for several hours until another promise was issued to end all sea dumping in Israel by the end of 1997.

### No Nuke Waste

On December 7, environmentalists protested the Russian Ministry of Atomic Power's policy of importing foreign nuclear waste to Russia. Ten political and cultural organizations from Moscow joined Ecodefense, the Russian environmental direct action group. About 30 protesters tried to hang a banner reading, "No More Waste," on the ministry building. They also planned on occupying the building, but two minutes after they arrived, several were arrested and charged with organizing an illegal action. The ministry's earlier policy had been to allow protesters to leave on their own, but this time the ministry didn't want to let the media broadcast information about the protest or its policy. That attempt failed when the activists succeeded in hanging their banner and getting the message out to international media.

### Crystal Palace Tree Sit

In defense of one of the last green bits in South London, English activists have occupied eight trees at Crystal Palace, stopping construction of a giant commercial complex. The complex would convert 12 acres at the top of a park into a huge 20-screen multiplex movie theater, with nine bars and restaurants and various retail outlets. It would include parking for over 1,000 vehicles.

Though the city council is required to protect the historic Crystal Palace, an observatory, it allowed the development to proceed without any public input. Over 5,000 signatures have been collected opposing the project, and over 600 residents attended a community meeting on the topic. To make sure that 150 trees aren't cut before the people's voices can be heard, climbers have taken to the trees. Though an eviction notice was sent on December 17, the camp is still there and calling for reinforcements.



# Police Attack Minnehaha

continued from front page

In addition to brutalizing nonviolent Earth First!ers, police assaulted elders of the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota whose sacred land is in the path of the highway. A prayer ceremony was in progress around the sacred fire when the raid began.

The cops immediately extinguished the sacred fire that had burned for 133 days, and an unknown officer put his foot through the sacred drum. Other sacred items were broken and burned, and all who were taking part in the ceremony were arrested, including the tribal elders.

One of the most memorable moments occurred when Santa Claus came to visit this happy, ragged band of elves. Claus locked to the chimney atop one of the houses and, to the delight of caroling supporters across the street, held the police off for over three and a half hours before being arrested.

After all the activists had been removed, police built eight bonfires and proceeded to incinerate our personal belongings. The interiors of the houses were stripped, and everything was either packed into the Ryder trucks and confiscated or out-and-out cremated on the spot. Outgoing Minnesota Governor Arne Carlson made an appearance and gave his personal stamp of approval to the militant action, saying the now-tortured and hunger-striking arrestees were "not protestors... they're basically anarchists." The morning brought a vigil of over 200 Minneapolis residents streaming to the place where the houses once stood.

Three days later, Big Woods Earth First! held a press conference for local and national media. The protesters, who had been released on the condition that they "do nothing to impede the progress of Highway 55," spoke eloquently of their treatment at the hands of city and state police. Then, as a public statement, the speakers set fire to their conditional release statements.

Public sentiment has shifted even further in our favor, with many people understandably expressing concern over the police-state tone of the raid and subsequent denials by police and government that any unnecessary force was used. Adding insult to injury, on December 28, Minneapolis Police Chief Robert Olson bestowed the Chief's Award of Merit to three officers for their work in the planning and execution of the brutal raid.

On Christmas day we held a demonstration at the governor's mansion to remind the now ex-Governor Carlson of our presence and persistence. On January 4, a banner was hung from a statue during the gubernatorial inauguration of ex-pro-wrestler Jesse Ventura. The banner declared that we have no intention of letting this police action conquer our resistance to the needless routing of Highway 55 through the last wilderness area and the last cold spring in Minneapolis, a place whose name literally means "city of waters."

Soon after the raid we established a new base camp and a treesit a quarter mile south of the razed houses around a circle of four burr oaks held sacred by the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota. Despite constant surveillance and nighttime temperatures plunging 20 degrees below zero, we are maintaining a stand in the path of the road. As this article is being written, no tree-cutting or earthmoving has occurred anywhere along the proposed route.

Our days are marked by regular visits from local residents bringing food and gear and thanking us for our work. Our nights are spent singing campfire songs around a new sacred fire. We are filing a lawsuit against the agencies for their use of chemical warfare against unarmed, nonviolent protesters. We have made one thing clear to the Minnesota Department of Transportation, the Minneapolis police and the Minnesota Department of Public Safety: Like the truckers' unions, whose 1934 strike brought on the previous large-

est police action in Minnesota; like the Dakota, who were executed in the largest mass hangings in US history during the Civil War; like the wilderness itself, we have a spirit that will never be broken!

We ask that concerned EF!ers contact Governor Jesse Ventura at State Capitol, 175 Constitutional Ave., St. Paul, MN 55155; (651) 296-3391, and tell him Minnesota isn't a cage match

and suggest he cancel this overwhelmingly unpopular highway project. Contact police chief Robert Olson at 350 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55415; (612) 673-3383, the Hennepin County sheriff Patrick McGowan at 300 S. 6th St., Minneapolis, MN 55415; (612) 348-3744 and commissioner Don Davis at North Central Life Tower, 445 Minnesota St., Suite 1000, St. Paul, MN 55101; (651) 296-6642 and ask them what's up with this "pepper-gel" stuff, and why uniformed public servants beat a restrained man with their flashlights.

Contact MnDOT Commissioner Elwin Tinklenberg at 395 John Ireland Blvd., St. Paul, MN 55155; (651) 296-3000, and ask him who in the hell really thinks paving a sacred site of inestimable environmental and cultural value is a good idea in the first place. We're always looking for more activists, you betcha! We're also seeking generous donations to assist with huge legal costs associated with the raid as well as to continue or action against Highway 55. Donations can be made out to power4u, c/o Big Woods EF!, POB 580936, Minneapolis, MN 55458. We're also found at (612) 362-3387; [www.freenet.msp.mn.us/stop55](http://www.freenet.msp.mn.us/stop55).

## TESTIMONIALS of BRUTALITY

"I watched as they filed people into the house, and many were badly injured and in so much pain they had trouble walking. They used pain compliance holds on people who could barely walk and others who were barely conscious. I saw another protester named Dr. Toxic so incapacitated that he fell unconscious twice, drooling and foaming at the mouth. While in the cop car I specifically remember hearing troopers discuss jokingly how they were disappointed that no one was fighting back and they wanted the opportunity to 'teach us a lesson.'"

—NIGHTINGALE A. BYRDE

"They pull off my gas mask and use pain compliance holds to force my neck back. We see the pepper spray before they use it. They show us, really, laughing and jeering as they threaten us with it. One of them forces my eyes open as another one dips a gloved hand into the poison. Two covered fingers. They rub it into my open eyes. I have been trained in nonviolence. I stay quiet and calm, blinded but hearing the screams of my beaten partner. The pain is unbearable. I am forced to unlock. They put another pain hold on me and drag me like that, by the jaw, up the stairs. They throw me face-down onto the floor of a room in the house. They keep me there for a couple of minutes before putting another pain hold on me and dragging me out into the falling snow. I am wearing no jacket. I sit there for over an hour."

—NOMAD SOUL

"Within seconds, my lockdown partner and I heard the hissing of gas seeping into our room. We locked our arms into the cement and immediately began coughing, choking, crying and vomiting fluids. We unlocked and exited the room extremely cautiously to find a room full of men in black with gas masks and guns pointed at us. In jail I heard friends' horror stories of police behavior which amounted to unprovoked torture. I saw the bruises on a friend's legs and watched in anger as a nurse refused to see him. Another friend walked by the cell window, his face covered in blood. This was the most horrific night of my life."

—ANONYMOUS

"I told them that we were all nonviolent people while they dug their knees in the back of my neck and pulled my hair out of my head. I witnessed one man who recently had pepper spray rubbed in his eyes ignored while all the fluid in his body drained from his mouth, nose and eyes. I told the police that this man was in extreme pain and that he will need medical help, but they ignored my pleas and his. 'To serve and protect...' has recently been changed to 'search and destroy.'"

—ANONYMOUS

"After five cans of tear gas, I left my lockdown site and then was cuffed, kicked and pepper-sprayed. Once I was sprayed, I was carried out and my head was smashed all the way out. Once outside, I was sat down and the pepper spray was rubbed in my face. I was screaming "medic," and five minutes later a medic came and said there was nothing wrong, even though my head was bleeding and my hands had lost all feeling."

—@SPEN

"They refused to treat my severe asthma. If an attack had happened, I could've gone into a coma or even died. If they had sprayed me, I could've died."

—MOLLY

"As my wrists were bleeding and swollen from the handcuffs, I asked the officers to please change the cuffs and loosen them. They simply laughed and told me that I got what I deserved. The authorities came in with the intent to hurt people. I believe that if they had the chance they would've had no problem killing people. In fact they came horrifyingly close to killing the man who was sitting in the tripod. What I witnessed on Sunday was the most disgusting abuse of power I have ever seen."

—MEAGHAN



The spirit is never crushed, declares a Minnehaha freestater

Photo by Joe Oden/St. Paul Pioneer Press



# Thinking It Through

*continued from front page*

If it did, the media would report his murder, as well as the ecologically disastrous practices of Maxxam/PL and other timber corporations, as the acts of terrorism they are. This atmosphere, where our own nonviolent actions are seen as criminal and those of corporations like Maxxam/PL are viewed as legitimate, brings Earth First! to a pivotal point in its defense of Headwaters and other ancient forests. As a movement that represents an uncompromising stance towards preservation of fast disappearing biodiversity in North America, we are now forced to accept that destruction of human life is not above our opposition in its pursuit of short-term profit.

Earth First! now finds itself at the turning point visited by other nonviolent movements. In British-occupied India, nonviolent protesters were slaughtered at Amritsar. In apartheid-era South Africa, nonviolent protesters were gunned down in Sharpesville. And in Derry, Northern Ireland, peaceful marchers inspired by Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights marches were shot dead by British soldiers. These tragedies forced those movements to reevaluate their strategy, as should the Earth First! movement following David's senseless murder.

Our strategy should not just be about adhering to a chosen philosophy but also protecting our friends from death. While David's murder leaves many struggling with deep sorrow and anger, it means nothing to those who caused it. Where Earth First! views protesters like David as practitioners of a morally righteous philosophy, corporations, like Maxxam/PL, see David and other forest defenders as impediments to progress and profit. They have always been prepared to engage in violent actions to remove us. They show no evidence of moral consciousness about the crimes they commit daily against the Earth or those humans who peacefully try to prevent them.

For centuries here in North America people like Earth First!ers, who shared a worldview that recognized the interconnectedness of all life, lost their lives in the struggle to defend Mother Earth. In acknowledgment of this fact, one of Earth First!'s first actions in the early '80s was to erect a monument to the Mimbres Apache warrior, Victorio, who engaged in armed struggle against the mining and cattle industries invading his Gila homeland.

Today's Earth First!ers continue that tradition in places like Fall Creek, Oregon, where forest defenders follow the example of the Lakota leader Red Cloud, who won the only unconditional surrender by the US in a guerilla war and kept the mining industry out of his homelands. Though such historical recognition of the roots of eco-defense may not bode well with the ardent pacifists within Earth First!, it is appropriate when the economic policies practiced by corporations like Maxxam/PL are the modern day equivalent and continuation of campaigns that in the last century targeted indigenous Americans.

For our allies in other countries who

have never left this struggle, the recognition of the need to apply a variety of tactics in the battle for Mother Earth is a lesson already learned. We must also learn that the preservation of our last ancient forests might once more necessitate tactics other than passive civil disobedience.

While Earth First!ers hope that peaceful settlement can be achieved where we are engaged in environmental de-

***"We need not advocate the abandonment of tactics that respect the rights of Earth-destroying property, but we must not prohibit tactics that target them either."***

fense, we must learn from the history of our own resistance and take notice of the behavior of corporate interests in other countries where they commit ecological crimes. In almost every case, opposition to environmental destruction begins with words, peaceful negotiations and other democratic means in an attempt to appeal to the common sense and morality. But, as it has in Headwaters, such pleas almost always fall on deaf ears, drowned out by the voice of corporate dollars.

David's murder forces us to ask ourselves which is greater, our moral commitment to passive nonviolence or our dedication to preventing the destruction of this planet's last ancient redwood forests? Are we prepared to sacrifice more of our peaceful warriors to preserve our moral high ground? Or are we ready to explore a strategy that still rejects physical violence but also targets the financial base of corporations like Maxxam/PL.

It is not that the present strategy in Headwaters and other Earth First! forest campaigns is failing, it isn't. It's not because Earth First! compromised its adherence to nonviolence that David was murdered; it was because Maxxam/PL is willing to ignore it. Earth First!ers must ask whether strategies like those at Headwaters, including prohibiting the destruction of timber industry equipment, give Maxxam/PL an advantage over forest defenders who adhere to tactics that make violence against nonviolent participants likely.

Inevitably we must question whether the murder of David Chain is possibly the Earth First! movement's own sobering example of the partial failure and inappropriateness of a passive nonviolent strategy against an opponent with absolutely no regard for life, be it human or otherwise. This does not mean that violence is the alternative; Earth First! has far from exhausted the alternatives to passive nonviolent strategy.

Earth First! need not meet violence with violence. To do so would violate the moral principle that most separates us from corporations like Maxxam/PL. The willingness to sacrifice our own freedom and lives if necessary in defense of Mother Earth, not by placing ourselves at the mercy of the merciless but by targeting the inanimate tools of destruction, does not violate that principle.

We need not advocate the abandonment of tactics that respect the rights of Earth-destroying property, but we must

not prohibit tactics that target them either. A re-evaluation of Earth First!'s tactics does not mean compromising the principles David practiced, it means recognizing that the destruction of earth-destroying property is not a violation of the principles of nonviolence. Neither Gandhi nor King ever labeled such actions counterproductive.

In Earth First!'s quest for a just response to David's murder and the continuing destruction of ancient forests, we need not respect the arbitrary laws that sanction the death of nonviolent protesters and the homelands of endangered nations. We must accept that the conditions that first gave rise to monkeywrenching in the 1980s have only changed in that they are now worse.

A strategic and philosophical acceptance of the need to break unjust laws is the ultimate expression of our love for Mother Earth and proof to corporations, governments and the public that these forests are worth protecting at great personal cost. Whether blockading roads or tearing them up, locking down to logging equipment or destroying it, all actions aimed at preserving ancient forests that do not result in personal injury or loss of life are necessary if we are to stop the destruction.

Whether a member of a Headwaters nonviolent affinity group, Cascadia Forest Defenders or the Earth Liberation Front, all Earth First!ers should

recognize the positive value of each other's contributions and exploit the leverage they create against our common opponent. When regulatory agencies like the California Department of Forestry and timber corporations like Maxxam/PL realize that Earth First!ers will meet crimes against nature with unpredictable intervening actions, targeting the machines and profits they care so much about, they will begin to make a serious effort to limit their ecologically destructive behavior.

And while deep sadness is in order in response to David's murder so is a focused determination fueled by the same values of love and respect that David exemplified in his defense of ancient forests. Let equally selfless action aimed at timber corporations like Maxxam/PL be our tears and the relentless targeting of their economic interests be the wail of our sorrow.

The only crime we should ever fear committing is allowing the last ancient forests to fall. In Headwaters, Cove Mallard and the Cascadia Free State, Earth First! has demonstrated our commitment to defending the last remnants of America's ancient forests. But we are far from victory. Earth First! must now advance our campaigns to a level that will force the timber barons out of ancient forests, while minimizing the threat of physical violence to ourselves and our opponents. Anything less and we may be left with our morally superior philosophy intact but without the world's ancient forest ecosystems.

## Thoughtful Radicalism

*continued from page 3*

If the ELF's attempts to thwart VA had succeeded, they would have achieved short-term protection for the Two Elk and that would have been a good thing. But the ELF's success was never a possibility as a result of poor target selection and poor timing, damaging the ability of other activists to act and denying even short-term protection for the Two Elk. Thus, the arson can also be a judged a thoughtless action when evaluated in regards to this cornerstone.

### Education

We educate to develop foot soldiers and allies, for with them our efforts to thwart, protect and restore wild nature are made much more achievable. A negative public perception undermines our ability to educate; a positive one supports it. The Vail arson created a negative public perception. When David Chain died Earth First!ers were victims of violence. When Vail burned, we became terrorists and our efforts to get the truth out there about what is happening to the planet and to inspire mass action in its defense became that much more difficult.

On top of those of thwart and protect, the Vail arson also damaged the educational cornerstone. That's three out of four, with one of them not being considered. The inappropriateness of the ELF's action in terms of its lending itself to wilderness defense seems clear.

In his indispensable work, *A Sand County Almanac*, Aldo Leopold summarized the land ethic shared by Earth First!ers, "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the beauty, integrity and stability of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." Thoughtful radicalism attempts to set forth a way of acting

with this ethic in mind. The fires at Vail have shown us that actions which claim to be in defense of the wild, if not well thought out can be just as damaging as a bulldozer.

If we are worthy of calling ourselves Earth First!ers, then we will support those actions that "tend to conserve the beauty, integrity and stability of the biotic community" because they are right and condemn those that "tend otherwise" because they are wrong, be they committed by Vail Associates or the Earth Liberation Front. As Earth First!ers we aspire to become effective defenders of the wild in the hope of wresting the continent away from rampant civilization and restoring its ecological integrity. To accomplish our task we must use every tool in the box.

At the same time we must choose our tools wisely and employ them thoughtfully so that they have the greatest positive impact on the achievement of our goal of a wild America. We should not be afraid to openly criticize the Wilderness Society when it does a disservice to wilderness, and we should not be afraid to criticize the Earth Liberation Front when they demonstrate thoughtlessness and poor strategic planning in an action that extinguishes all hope for protecting a wild area. While there is considerable room for varying lifestyles and personal philosophies within the Earth First! movement, Earth First!ers need seriously consider whether there is enough room to accommodate individuals whose revolutionary angst overshadows their love of the wilderness to the point that they become a liability to its preservation. Earth First!

*Editor's Note: The editors were unable to contact the author to approve the edited version of this piece.*

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# Ya'll Sure Have A Lot To Say; SFB's Continued

Hello EF!

Just a note to thank you for the Samhain issue of the *EF!*. It is a fabulous memorial for "Gypsy" who seems to understand that death is a part of life... His spirit flooded my being, and I have shed many tears for someone I wish I had known.

While I do not believe in violence towards people for any reason, I am puzzled as to y'all's reaction. I would have gone berserk and destroyed equipment... Though death is part of the recycle process, only the goddess knows, I cannot feel good about killing of people or trees—for the unnecessary profit and greed... of a few.

But enough said on that. Ya'll are doing a lot. If I ever manage to get out from under the power of the laws. I hope to be a part of *EF!*, and do more than send in words. Now and then a dream, Towards peace, harmony and equality,

—PAT EARL

Dear SFB,

I resent your implication that our illustrious representative, Doug Young, is in the pocket of "big ranching, big timber and big mining." Rep. Don Young is firmly and foremost in the pocket of big oil—and always has, and always will be.

—JOHN STEDMAN, KOTZEBUE, ALASKA

Dear *EF!*

I recently picked up a copy of your newspaper at our local food coop. I wanted to read about violence at "Big Wild" to see what your front line activists had to face. I didn't think I'd read much of your other stuff. But when I did... Wow. I am very impressed with the articles: informative, straightforward, intelligent. I must admit I now see that I've bought corporate propaganda about you all. I've never felt empowered from reading about environmental issues. They always seemed so big. But your articles style gives me hope by giving me information I can use. The one on Bruce Babbitt gave me more information than four years of *NY Times*. I'd like to read more and learn about the reality of *EF!* I hope to see a lot of respect, compassion, information, and action.

—GREG

Dear SFB,

I was so glad to read articles by G. Monbiot and Osprey. They described my thoughts. Yes! Activists should use mass media more effectively! Yes! All activists should practice mutual aid! So I'd like to offer all Earth First!ers to cooperate in struggle for Mother Earth.

I am a journalist of Youth Department of Volgograd Regional TV and Radio Center (South of Russia). I have one hour a week in TV channel and 10 minutes a week for broadcasting. More than enough! If you will send us video or audio information about your actions and creation I'll be able to make films and broadcasts. 3,000,000 people will know about you! We can use NTSC and all formats (Beta, S-VHS, VHS—first copy please).

Write me please: trk@vlink.ru

(for Slava Yashchenko), Russia 400087 Volograd, Novorossiskaya, 16, KV.56, Slava Yashchenko

Best regards!, Green anarchist,

—SLAVA YASHCHENKO

PS All films about alternative life-style and actions I compile into Video-collection and send copies to russian alternative info-centers and universities. Pardon for poor English.

Herakleopolities,

You guys are prime movers please don't jepurdise. Ahh all we're advocating by short term so called solutions. We've changed laws saved land from the stupid greedy whores. We're protecting the land and environment. For our future generations who's the new cointel pro member their happy. I'm sure, Fuck you!! Whores. In the belly of babylon.

Why super glossy color pict's?? Why advocate assault my *Journals* are returning to the earth. AHH, AHH love you reading this!! Hi! cancel my subscription if you advocate violence you're killing the movement polarizing, a sad day they win. also the children keep dying from pollution.

*Ed. Note: We did not advocate violence and can't cancel your sub because you sent this anonymously—duh.*

Dear *EF!*

The more I read over nonviolence essays, the more anthropocentric they are: human values, definitions, perspectives. When B. Wilson (Nov.-Dec *EF!*) talks about harmony of Nature of all things... it makes me think of earthquakes, hurricanes, ice ages, predation... In a long term—human viewpoint—Nature may look balanced... but never harmonious. Nature is chaotic, violent... 'unfeeling.'

The ends are the means? Non-violence zealots would have us wait 'forever' to achieve a perfect society that cares about the right things in the right way. Is it up to humans to decide if ten or twenty years is quick enough? Ask a Marbled Murrelet, Coho Salmon, or any of the thousands of soon to be extinct species and they would argue: 'we need new strategies to push and catalyze change, now.'

Do we put the earth first or is it the creation of a, maybe, beautiful future society, for humans our priority?

Realistically the ends we seek are bare survival. Does Earth care how we protect her? No, she only cares that we succeed, or maybe Ma-Earth needs nonviolence training. Love, violence, harmony: these concepts are not biocentric. Be intimate with your tribe so you can do the hard, ugly work that faces us. For those who can not wait forever.

—ELLIE QUICKENING

Dear Lifted Loraxes,

I know I'm still kinda new to the movement, but it doesn't take a genius to see the core of *EF!*: a deep love of Mother Earth's wild heart and a passion for protecting her from man's insane abuse. We put the EARTH FIRST! Now that we've stated the obvi-

ous, it's time to dive head first into a steaming heap of buffalo diarrhea—strategy, tactics, details, etc. How do we defend the Earth and help her heal as efficiently as possible? Well I'm no military mastermind, but we need some strategy and we need it now.

The world is in flames, and mindless profit-seeking and Earth-raping by certain powerful individuals and corporations has driven us all to desperation. Something MUST be done. Is *EF!*'s solution to the Vail problem the example for all hardcore activists to follow?

I can't deny that it has certain pluses. That fire must have scared lots of business-type people shitless (pardon my French). \$12 million plus in damages, that's gotta put the fear of Gaia into the most fearless slaves of Papa Profit and maybe it even saved Vail's bioregion from some serious destruction by ski lodges and such.

But let's face the facts. *EF!* may have won a battle, but it may also have done more damage to environmentalism than arresting a hundred *EF!*ers would have done. Do we really want to wage guerilla warfare against the corporations, gov'ts, and many of the people of the world? There are two undeniable strategic reasons for avoiding this. First off, we're wildly outmanned, outgunned, and outfunded. If we keep burning down buildings, they'll catch us all eventually—that's why guerilla action is only a temporary way to stop wilderness destruction, not a lasting solution. Second—and more importantly—every act of covert destructive action we commit is like a kamikazi attack that smashes our credibility in the eyes of your average Joe. See it from his perspective! Who would YOU sympathize with more if you didn't know the issues, arsonists or their victims?

Yes, it IS time to throw a wrench into the machine and do whatever it takes to protect the Earth's scarred surface from further abuse. And I'm not knocking *EF!* I assume they did it out of a love of the Earth and a frustrated passion for defending her. But arson is short-sighted. We need a long-term strategic nonviolence movement. We need a culture of resistance, a culture that shows our love of the Earth with action, song, art, PASSION, all of which draw people in and make everyone want to love the Earth like we do. This is the heart of good eco-strategy, because anything short of a global change of consciousness is not enough. Such a change is a long shot, I know, but our only alternative is fighting a doomed guerilla war while the Earth burns.

—JUSTIN O'NEILL

Dear *EF!* Journal,

Enjoyed yer Yule issue as always, especially BBB coverage. Outstanding. However—on page 29 you attributed Barry Goldwater's famous quote at the 1964 Republican National Convention to Malcom? This is a new one on me. Could Barry really have quoted Malcom? Or visa-versa? Both possibilities seem pretty outlandish. This is the kind of shit that helps me procrastinate.

Thanks!

—NATE B.

Dear *EF!*:

I hear that you've been getting a negative response for covering the Vail fires claimed by the *EF!*. I want to let you know that I support all ALF and *EF!* actions as being not only justified by the irreversible damage done to the Earth on a daily basis but a required response to our home being systematically destroyed. What is usually achieved through years by legal means is achieved in a single night. I support anything that hastens the process of animal and earth liberation that does not harm or take life. Arson is a legitimate tactic for eradicating those industries of death and exploitation that we all hate and I hope to see it used more often. Love and liberation,

—NJK H. GAUGLER, NJ

Dear Shit for Brains,

What concerns me most about the *Journal's* recent advocacy of arson and molotov cocktails manufacturing is that no one in the Earth First! movement is actually engaging in any of these activities, at least not under the Earth First! banner. We are a movement of activists, not wannabees. Our *Journal* is supposed to reflect what we are actually doing, not what we are masturbating about. So while virtually 100 percent of our movement is engaged in some form of non-violent direct action over-the-counter defense of Mother Earth, we have to eat wise-use/FBI shit because someone with no movement history decides its time for a feel-good article about some tactic they wished they had the nerve to do. The *Journal* Staff wouldn't know a molotov cocktail from a bottle of Calistoga.

Further, even for those of us, like myself, who believe that strategic monkeywrenching has an important place, it must be remembered that arson kills. It can kill people, it can kill wilderness, it can kill endangered species and it can kill movements. Foreman and Abbey (hey, editors, do you know who I'm talking about or do you think that only Native Americans are PC enough to have elders and ancestors) both reminded us of the credo: "safety first and don't get caught." Seems like the *Journal's* motto is "Recklessly endanger the movement and turn ourselves in for stuff we didn't even do." Seems like the latest round of TV weened children-editors are even dumber and more dysfunctional than my generation.

It's too bad people have to associate radicalism with outrageousness. I associate radicalism with effectiveness. Radicalism literally means pertaining to the root. I fail to see how the latest round of molotov cocktail fantasies is effective, pertains to the root of anything, or how it puts the Earth First!

Thanks for creating the years of extra work of dispelling misinformation that none of you are going to be around to deal with because after a year or less you'll go back to work for your rich daddy or mommy.

—DARRYL CHERNEY, KICK-ASS  
RADICAL ECO-WARRIOR WHO TAKES  
SHIT FROM NO ONE

Dear Censorshit for Brains,

The *Earth First! Journal* collective is a hard-working and well-intentioned group of individuals. I co-exist with them here in Eugene, OR. I rarely volunteer or submit the written word so I keep my criticisms to a minimum, and when they are requested I GIVE MY INPUT RESPECTFULLY.

The staff is not paid what I (or the Federal Poverty Standard) define as a living wage for their overtime work and they are committed members of the biocentric movement.

The movement does not adequately support the *Journal* as a "movement" paper. If you desire to perpetuate the services which the *Journal* provides, then subscription boosting, short or long term editing and submitting articles should be on your activist agenda. Even calling up the staff to say "thank you" would be valiant especially in these days when many of their interactions with supposed movement members are rude and disrespectful.

If you perpetrated any of the disrespect, attempts at censorship or inflammatory accusations toward the staff regarding the mention of property destruction in the Yule '98 issue, please do any of the following: 1) Fuck off! 2) Try publishing your own magazine. 3) Act out your disfunction and control issues somewhere else.

Now, (briefly) on the topic of property destruction, about which I'm sure we're capable of having a mature discussion in this paper.

Obviously there are folks out there destroying property in defense of wildlands, renouncing them will not make it stop. However, if you accuse these people of being terrorists it will only be a matter of time before you too will be called a terrorist. The threat is the philosophy, not the tactic. Mainstream reality is violent, violence it understands. Wildness is the unknown, that to be feared.

A couple of other points that are relevant to the property destruction debate: 1) Earth First! is synonymous with monkeywrenching, tree spiking, 'dozer burning, let's stop hiding from this identity that constantly haunts us. 2) Because of this identity, to renounce these actions is self-marginalization, to not print of their occurrence in the *Journal* is self-censorship. Earth First! has censured itself long enough by trying to extend single-issue philosophies to the big picture. It's not just about trees anymore folks, global economic collapse threatens every thread in the web of life. Politics of privilege dictated by corporate funding will not be tolerated in a diverse movement—the one that is emerging, represented on these pages.

—PAM REBER

Dear Napalm For Brains,

My observations and experience lead me to believe that our best tools are grass roots outreach, organization and action. These things won the battle of sierra blanca (where Bill Addington's business was burned down). These tactics have put the Forest "Service" years behind schedule in cove mallard (where my friends backpacks were thrown into a fire while angry, drunk loggers w/guns threatened their lives). Although



the headwaters campaign has the advantage of big cuddly trees and lots of tofu eaters, I don't think there'd be a grandma standing out there if not for the brilliant, nonviolent-nondestructive grass roots work that has brought these trees to the attention of the world. Thank you ecotopia (where Judi and Darryl were blown up, Gypsy was cut down and the pepper spray 500 had fire placed in their eyes), thanks all y'all.

I spend a lot of outreach energy doing damage control and defending ecotage though I question its net positive effect. I do this in support of those whose work is different from my own though our cause is the same. I cannot see arson as a defensible tactic (in our struggle in the states) for precisely the reasons that I wholly and vehemently condemn the arson at Vail. The fact that front lines, long term, non-violent, non destructive activists were in the field (and now all suspects) when the act of arson occurred makes it an inexcusably irresponsible act. Thank you Ben and Brian from Ancient Forest Rescue for your wise and clear article and awesome, long, hard work. Thank you Darryl and Oikos for your letters to sfb. I side w/these voices.

Those whose words and actions create nonviolent—non-destructive avenues for change do nothing to harm saboteurs and arsonists. Unmindful acts of destruction like the vail fires put high profile, hard working, honest and accountable activists and their work in serious danger (especially when coupled with threats like the alleged elf communiqué).

Clearly *EF!* voiced my view through Ben, Brian, Darryl and Oikos, thank you. Other views were represented as well they should be. However the editorial slant of that issue of the *Journal*, the headline *ELF BURNS DOWN VAIL* (very questionable), the graffics of elves playing w/fire (children would have been more accurate) and *Dear Ned Ludd* (any one intelligent enough to be trusted w/such tactics can be trusted to find that info else where, why implicate all of us?) boils down to sensationalistic pornography for armchair activists who have watched to many Bruce Willis movies.

Though I think the *Journal* represented the majority of its readership well, I think you have done a horrible disservice to the great majority of those who do any tangible work. On those grounds I feel it is my responsibility not to work with you or support your work. I sincerely hope not to work against you though I feel the last issue of the *Journal* was work to the detriment of me and my family (which includes y'all). I greatly value the friendships I have made w/you and your incredibly generous spirit towards me. I hope these things will not be destroyed by our ideological differences. I hope you can respect my decisions as I strive to respect yours. Good luck and good will,

—DANNY DOLINGER

Editors:

Excellent job on the coverage and editorials surrounding the vail firebombings. Its nice to see you guys take the stand that you are known for, and I appreciate your willingness to stand up to the establishment that contin-

ues to rape, pillage and plunder the earth. Only when citizens stop writing letters and take direct action will things ever really change. Thank you for having the courage.

—JERRY VLASAK, MD

Dear *Journal* Staff,

I am a mother of two young womyn and a non-violent activist who uses direct action and public outreach to effectively create change. Printing fire bomb construction plans in the December/January *EF! Journal*, was an assault to myself and other non-violent activists. This type of senseless behavior plays right into the hands of those who would like to paint all activists as destructive or dangerous. Once again the nonviolent activists who place themselves visibly on the front lines become targets for the negative reactions. This is not a game! We are risking our lives daily to stop the destruction—not to perpetuate it. This last year I have watched the campaigns I work with, escalate into violence against activists. Last month white supremacists firebombed an activist home in Idaho, Gypsy was killed by an angry logger, and police have increased the violent use of pepper spray. Not to mention outrageous charges for nonviolent actions. Seven activists were convicted of felony for an action in Washington and four Cove/Mallard activists spent two months in jail for blockading Jack Road. In Houston bail was set at a total of \$700,000 for the five activists arrested and charged with a felony for a simple banner hang. People I love are suffering the reprisal for thoughtlessness of this kind. It is not for me to dictate the actions of others—but please think about the effects that your actions will have on the community of activists you serve. Weigh the benefits of what you choose to print against the lives of those individuals who already sacrifice much to do this work. Even if you do not agree with my words, I hope that you will give me a voice in my community and print this letter in it's entirety.

*Talk of fighting destruction for change.*

*Fighting for peace is like fucking for virginity.*

*Every grand leader willing his design on the masses and the Earth.*

*You call yourselves warriors fighting for Earth and life.*

*I see you cower before the light of that which you assume to protect.*

*It's not by war but by love that life exists.*

—TROY JONES

SFB/Letter to the Editor:

Ahh, a breath of fresh air in the raging *EF!* editorial supporting the burning of those symbols of dominance wielded by Vail Associates. Most alarming is that this vigilant perspective is a voice in the wilderness. Current fashion among some environmentalists is to decry the dreadful acts of "terrorism" which have shaken the bourgeois foundations of the ski resort empire west of Denver.

Check your definitions on terrorism. Terrorism is when a group—in the US, often a state-supported group—violently targets

innocent citizens in order to foment fear among the larger population. Terrorism doesn't apply to the simple destruction of property, especially property illegally erected on public lands. It doesn't apply when a group destroys precise targets of the oppressor. Why would wilderness defenders mourn the long-overdue tumbling of the outposts of oligopoly?

In fairness, some of these detractors, pre-(fabulous)fires, poured their souls into fighting Vail's lunatical plans. They vigorously took the lead on fighting for the forest and the creatures that lay in the path of Vail's glutony. However, the tactics employed—litigation, protest, education—failed. On the eve of destruction, another weapon was deployed: fire. Long-suppressed as a destroyer of "resources" in most Colorado forests, the natural element of fire again glimmered brightly.

I agree that the threat against skiers was stupid and contrary to a code of nonviolence. The fires, however, were not. They made poetic sense in the face of unrestrained violence against a shy little cat, and her plant and animal companions.

The arson—or forest restoration—glows as the most effective act of economic sabotage ever to grace Colorado. It is cause for celebration. Let's shake off those desires to have a seat at the table, be media darlings, build our memberships. Let's release ourselves from all of that, roll up our sleeves and get down to the dirty work of resistance.

—NICOLE J. ROSMARINO, CLEAR CREEK COUNTY, COLORADO

Dear SFB,

Do you really think people don't know a molotov cocktail is a bottle of gasoline with a rag stuffed in it, so we're serving a public service describing it? I'm an advocate of strategic monkeywrenching, when and where it can be effective, though I think there's quite a difference between arson and simple property destruction. I'm also an advocate of nonviolent civil disobedience, though I don't consider myself a member of the 'cult of nonviolence,' and I think generally the two are like oil and water. Don't mix in the same campaign or action. That doesn't mean they don't mix in the same movement. I also think it's fine and appropriate for campaigns to choose certain variations of the nonviolence code to suit their particular campaign. One of the things that sets *EF!* apart from other enviro groups, even ones that employ direct action, is that we allow for the discussion of monkeywrenching. *EF!* didn't invent monkeywrenching. But we're one of the few groups that talk about how it can be safe and effective, and that benefits everyone. But remember the E-word; effective. It's the only name of the game.

But how-to's on incendiary devices are a different matter. Perhaps it's an interesting topic of discussion under what circumstances fire ever might be an effective tool and for whom, and in what struggle, but let's be realistic, it's a topic for verbal discussion, not laid down as advocacy in print. In my view, that's stupid, insane and counterproductive. We have lots of forums. The *Journal* is only one. There are

many, many things that should and will be discussed at the RRR, the activists conference, *EF!* meetings, ect., but would be non-productive to record for posterity in the *Journal*. Isn't that what papers like *LWOD* are for? One of the more stimulating and interesting discussions I'd had in a while was the "revolution" circle discussion (for want of a better term) that took place at last year's RRR. It got gnarly and was not meant for transfer to the pages of any *Journal*.

Given the existence of the Anarchist Cookbook, the (several) radical newsletters one can get in plain brown envelopes, and the opportunities for verbal and internet discussions, I feel it was counter-productive to include the Ned Ludd piece, and will probably get more counter-productive as the controversy rages and we waste time arguing instead of strategizing.

In related discussion, I appreciated Ann's thoughtful comments and analysis about how they deal with such issues in England. But she says they discuss strategic monkeywrenching while we discuss whether or not to engage. Well, I think discussing whether or not to is a strategic monkeywrenching discussion, because when to, where to, whether to at a particular time is a strategic discussion. There is a difference in how they carry on, though, as she explains the use of the name Earth First! It's a strategy decision to use or not use any name, *EF!* or otherwise. She says it's not used for movement building. Well, last I checked here, we are using the name publicly, and frankly, I identify with and like organizing under the *EF!* banner because I think the name/slogan speaks volumes. Because it is a slogan, not just an organizational name like ALF. Since we do use the name publicly all the time, the how to use incendiary devices descriptions should be in the newsletters of groups that don't, like *LWOD*, or verbal discussions. C'mon folks, let's be smart.

All this is related to Vail, of course. The media field day was annoying but let's not get bent out of shape. Every so often something like this erupts, Vail fires, Ted Kacysynski, falling power lines. But that's not what's going to be our downfall. Our in-fighting could. When we let it push us into, in desperation, announcing a prohibition of monkeywrenching, or to "stand up for radicalism" (or something) defending a tactic not everyone agrees with, or into publicly defining a separation in the *EF!* movement, we're letting those spin doctors that have their heads up their butts control the situation. We shouldn't run scared from acts of sabotage because we didn't do it and a rabid reporter is sticking a microphone in our face. We should think of something intelligent to say, like pointing out the difference between vandalism and property damage and actual terrorism, when lives are lost by violent means.

I will say, I thought the *Journal's* reporting on the Vail incident was very good, and *AFR's* discussion was excellent (though the editorial was awfully shallow)—but in general, the discussion was interesting, thorough and intelligent. Ned Ludd this time was not.

More later

—KAREN PICKETT

Dear SFB,

We all know that the natural world (not to mention everyday life, as if they could be separated) is everywhere under assault. Eight times a year the *Journal* chronicles some of the assaults and accompanying protests. It has been an endless tale of fresh outrages and, in the main, civil disobedience-type "direct action" and appeals to write one's government representative.

What a losing formula! Negotiating away more of nature as a kind of "loyal opposition," while legitimating law and rule in the bargain. But this liberal-left outlook is maybe now less dominant in Earth First! than in any other time in the 90's.

I sure as hell hope so because this utterly compromised orientation is a boring, reformist, no-win trek backward. No secret and no surprise that *Journal* readership has fallen hugely in the 90's.

The Yule issue shows very definite promise and renewal but more analysis, more creativity, and more daring are needed. I'd like to see the best of Deep Ecology and primitivist/radical anarchist theory discussed and acted upon. Or are work, production, consumption, and middle-class financial support still the Earth First! gods?

—JOHN ZERZAN

*Ed. Note: Journal readership has increased since the Eugene collective has published the paper.*

Dear Editors,

Thank you Theresa Kintz and the other editors who have the guts and courage to support the Earth Liberation Front. In the face of the mainstream backlash, the media backlash, and the backlash from within our own supposed "radical" movement, it takes much integrity and moral conviction to write in support of those who have little, if any, public support.

But that's not what it's about anyway. Our fight to save this planet is not about public support. It's about defending the Earth and Her critters in the face of an almost total lack of public support. Witness the so-called "community" of Vail coming to the "aid" of the multi-million dollar megacorp. Vail Associates after the ELF arson. Please! It's enough to make me gag! And these are the people Ancient Forest Rescue care about? Is this movement about winning the hearts and minds of rich white yuppies who care more about leisure or are we about taking direct action to stop the destruction of the Earth, a destruction perpetuated by the leisure activities of rich white yuppies? Can we get our priorities straight? (Will we now see an article from *AFR* on their "community-building" strategies as they volunteer their energy to rebuild Vail?)

I'm not saying that we shouldn't try to convince an uncaring brain-dead public about the virtues of saving wilderness instead of consuming more shit, but let's get real here. We are a minority and we will always be a minority. The visions of the masses rising up to save the trees and the bears are nothing but pipe-dreams. If we are depending on said masses to rise up and affect public policy, then we'll be long turned to mulch before that

continued on page 32



# There Are Still More SFB's

## Letters are supposed to be under 300 words

happens, if it does at all, which I highly doubt.

Before the Vail arson I never really knew about Vail. I think I read an article in a previous issue of the *Journal*, but it was just another sad story of human corporate greed destroying the wilderness. File it away in the brain with all the other stories. But now I know what Vail is, and who Vail Associates are. And so do millions of others who had never heard of them before. How's that for public awareness?

The mainstream activists among us will never support arson. They, like AFR, depend on public opinion to survive. Bottom line: they need their dollars. Public opinion has never and will never support arson, or any acts of eco-sabotage. And condemning eco-sabotage only reveals the moral bankruptcy of these activists, who tremble and whither in their boots at the thought of losing their funding, or being called nasty names in the media. Or being afraid of the police. Fear. That's what it's about. Lose your fear and seize your power!

Annie, in her article about the EF! gathering in the UK, hit the issue square on the head when she talked about the differences between the two continents. Here people tried, a huge mistake I believe, to turn EF! into a mass movement, complete with repetitive and boring waste-of-time-and-energy tactics which fail over and over again to stop or change anything, while over there folks have remained true to the roots of EF! by rejecting that path and continuing the resistance with autonomous cells of eco-saboteurs. And can you tell me which movement is more vital? More alive? More creative? More No Fucking Compromise?

I can understand why people cannot publicly support the ELF, even if they do support them privately, especially if those people are involved in the mainstream and civil disobedience aspects of the movement. It is a sad comment on the state of Earth Defense in North America that most activists pander to their funders, pander to the media and police, and pander to the "communities" of consumers with their denunciations of ecotage. If we truly put the Earth first, then we would have the guts and courage to say "Yeah, we don't want Vail here and we support its total destruction, by any means necessary, and without compromise to any special human interest groups!"

No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth? I sure hope so! A huge Thank You to the brave warriors and Elves of the Earth Liberation Front. And thank you Theresa Kintz for helping to bring this supposed no compromise movement back to its roots of direct action, and for trying to give back to the *Journal* some relevance, dignity, and integrity.

—DAVID BARBARASH

Dear *Earth First! Journal* staff,

It is with great concern that we write to you regarding the editorial by the *Journal* staff member Theresa Kintz referring to the recent arson at Vail Mountain, and other associated content appear-

ing in the Yule issue of the *Earth First! Journal*. As a result of the author's obvious advocacy of the actions of those who perpetrated the Vail arson, and the publication of this assertion in the *Earth First! Journal* editorial column, we are compelled to question, if not openly disassociate from, the motivations and positions of the *Earth First! Journal* and staff as a whole. In addition, and in what is our opinion a much more serious issue, is the publication of information regarding the manufacture and use of incendiary devices on pg. 29. Because of the appearance of these and other related content in the Yule issue we have decided to withhold the requested update on the Luna tree-sit and submit this letter instead.

While we recognize the right of the *Earth First! Journal* and all individuals to free speech, we also retain the right to choose which speech we allow ourselves to be associated with. We do not wish to become censors or in any way limit the content of discourse regarding defense of our planet. We do strongly maintain, however, as individuals working from a foundation based on peaceful resistance, that we cannot support, nor be part of, both clear and implied advocacy of actions such as the Vail arson as was presented in the *Journal*.

The *Earth First! Journal* has served as a much appreciated and important element of ours and many other campaigns to protect wild places throughout the world. Not only do we value the *Journal* and its dedicated staff for providing an opportunity to raise awareness about ancient forest issues and inform its readership of our actions such as the Luna tree-sit; we view the *Journal* as an important tool to stay updated regarding issues, ideas, and campaigns elsewhere. This includes supporting reportage of events such as that in Vail, as published in Lacey Phillabaum's article "ELF Burns Down Vail." Our support ends, however, when actions of this nature are advocated for, placing ourselves in a position in which we have been associated with those actions in a de facto manner. We agree that the article "How AFR Got Burned," by Ben and Brian of Ancient Forest Rescue provided an amount of balance to the issue. But as evidenced by Kintz's centerpiece editorial column, the Dear Ned Ludd feature, and drawings depicting arson, tree-spiking, etc., the position of the *Journal* staff clearly supports and advocates for such actions as those attributed to the ELF at Vail.

Disclaimer or not, the *Earth First! Journal* is viewed by the public as a voice of the *Earth First!* movement, and associated groups and individuals. Content that is published in the *Journal* reflects on all of us as a whole. As a direct result it is often those of us that choose to take a stand in an open and public manner who are left to address the fallout of others. The publication of the materials in question has demonstrated a blatant disregard for the work, public support, and safety of a great many activists that comprise the heart of this movement.

We, as individuals, stand for and take part in on a daily basis

peaceful resistance against the destruction of our Earth. We stand for action based in love and respect for all life. We do not support any action that may potentially bring harm to any life, and we cannot in good conscience support or work in conjunction with those who do. We are returning our copies of the Yule issue of the *Earth First! Journal* that have been provided to us for fundraising and distribution, desiring not to censor, but clearly not to be involved in providing a platform for the material contained within. Your response to this matter is greatly anticipated and will form the basis of future action on our part.

In love and respect for all life,  
—JULIA BUTTERFLY HILL AND  
ROBERT PARKER

Hi Folks,

Like a breath of fresh air, the yule issue of the *Journal* came to me today. I didn't get past page two before I felt the urge to put my two cents worth in, so here: Theresa Kintz, you are beautiful.

When the night got bright in Vail, it was to be expected that there would be a great chorus of wailing and whining from the respectable fringe. Hell, tiring though they may be, most of them probably are sincere and really do believe that us bombers and arsonists and other night workers are bad for the cause. But one of the reasons that EF! has lasted thus far is our own ability and willingness to include widely disparate viewpoints.

From the beginning, monkeywrenching has lain close to the heart of most EF! thought and action. While actual monkeywrenchers were always few and far between, there remained that large, noisy crowd of wannabes that wanted to, and thought to themselves that they just might, someday... This implied threat thus always set EF! apart from the 'respectable' environmentalists. The feds don't get nervous when the Sierra Club comes to town.

The debate will continue on the pros and cons of monkeywrenching, with those arguing against it appearing to greatly outnumber those in favor, if for no other reason than that those inclined to flic their bics are more likely to do it than debate it. Which made Theresa's intelligent, passionate argument all the more refreshing. Thanks Theresa, and all the rest of you pro and con. As long as you feel strongly enough about saving the biosphere to argue about it there's hope.

Be careful out there folks. With love and rage,

—ROD SMITH

Dear EF!

As a full-time activist for Ancient Forest Rescue, I eagerly anticipated the Yule issue of the *Journal*. I wondered how the voice of our movement was going to cover the arson on Vail Mountain. I expected a debate; I expected disagreement; I expected a well rounded discussion of the issues.

My first impression was, of course, the cover and I was awed by the beautiful image of the lynx. I thought finally the media is ex-

posing the sad fate of the lynx in Colorado and the disastrous effects Vail's expansion might have on a place ripe with historical lynx sightings. With much relief, I thought the hype and sensationalism of the arson was not going to be dignified by our *Journal*. However, as I turned to page one, I wondered just what rag I was reading. The header boldly stated *Earth First!*, but the naïveté of the title article "ELF Burns Down Vail," left me dumbfounded. Two questions struck me like lightning from above. Did the ELF really do this? Could there be no other possibilities. According to the *Journal*, apparently not. Next I wondered how Vail could be making millions of dollars as I write this letter if they were in fact "burned down." Last I noticed ONE of Vail's 72 restaurants was destroyed by the fire. Clearcut surfing is still alive and well on Vail Mountain as is the destruction plan of the Two Elk Roadless Area.

Yet despite the grandiose and inaccurate title, I thought the article was well done with the following exceptions. The article states, "But while AFR bided its time, the ELF acted." Let me make one thing perfectly clear, the logging and roading of the Two Elk Roadless Area began AFTER the arson. The other problem I have is that Jeff Berman is not an AFR spokesperson. Jeff's statements reflect Jeff's opinion only. AFR is a diverse group and no one person can speak for us all. However, Jeff's frustration must be understood. He worked hard to sway a vocal majority to oppose Vail's expansion only to watch it slip from our control as environmentalism became synonymous with terrorism in the Vail Valley.

My last comment is reserved for "Fanning the Flames of Resistance." The piece sure was a nice romantic dream, be sure to let me know when you wake-up and want to start saving wilderness.

—BEN DOON

SFB,

The front page photo of 'Vail Burning' (Yule '99) is beautiful. Beauty and rage to warm our hearts... and a lasting symbol of insurrection. Moderate groups who don't like bonfires had better get used to it. But it's OK for them to distance themselves from Saboteurs—actually that's part of the plan. As for EF! and the *Journal*, the lack of a 'meaningful strategy' for the movement and a lot of petty, dogmatic bickering over defining what is violence are reflected in the *Journal*. The folks in Eugene have done a super job. The *Journal* needs to keep being an open forum for radical environmental views, stimulate debate, ect. There are plenty of moderate publications.

Actions like the ELF at Vail will happen more and more. Why? The democrats and the eco-moderates have failed so totally, that few people have any faith in them. There will always be people who have to act 'from the heart.' Denial and 'make-believe' reforms don't keep everyone eco-Prozaced. Elves rock! Lawyers suck.

—ZZINNIA

PS—Most of the articles in the *Journal* don't seem very biocentric. I'd like to see someone address whether key concepts like nonviolence, unconditional love or the future we

are trying to create aren't doomed to recreate a human dominated perspective

Dear EF!

Why Vail? The Colorado Ancient Forest Rescue had garnered substantial community support to oppose the expansion of the Vail ski resort by direct action and the so-called Earth Liberation Front (ELF) fucked it up! There are thousands of other targets out there, unguarded roads, wood bridges, equipment, ect., near other destructive projects that do not have organized opposition.

Why didn't the ELF hit a dozen of these sites instead? Is the ELF just a bunch of media sluts?! Did the ELF just pull this target out of some rag with no realization of what was really going on there?

The so called ELF or wise-use equivalent hit the Detroit and Oakridge Ranger station in Oregon back in 1996. Luckily, the Warner Creek Blockade Campaign had already achieved success before those arson incidents. Otherwise the so-called ELF would have fucked that up too!

If I was a member of Ancient Forest Rescue, I would speculate that the Vail arson was a covert action pulled off by some militant wise-use group or the FBI.

If the ELF is indeed made up of warriors, then I would surmise ELF is indicative of many of the radical enviros; you really lack a work ethic when it comes to the daily grunt work that it requires to save wild places. Many radical enviros seem to believe that saving the biosphere is less than a part-time commitment. In between wage work, socializing (drinking and sex) we'll do a rally or two. And it must be fun and exciting. Well BULLSHIT! Saving the biosphere is a daily life-long commitment. Many times it is fun. Many times it is drudgery. But you get on with it because you must to remain positive and hopeful.

If the ELF is on the side of preventing ecocide, I urge them to get their shit together, do their research and don't fuck up existing radical environmental campaigns!

—A GRUNT

Ed. Note:

The *Journal* is not a public relations tool for your local campaign. We are a newspaper for items of interest to the full spectrum of the radical environmental movement.

After the Vail fire, we received a number of submissions representing a variety of viewpoints on the topic, as well as many unstructured comments, which indicated to us that there was an audience for the Ned Ludd piece. (If you aren't aware that *Earth First!*ers might want to read such things in the *Journal*, go visit a different watershed.) Though we are responsive to input, we do not act as de facto movement censors. We do not make decision based on what is strategically best for the movement. Such an attempt would be untenable, yet more stressful and contrary to the spirit of the free exchange of ideas. Worse yet, that would reduce *Earth First!* to lowest common denominator environmentalism, and we already have enough of that.

But the controversy at hand is not about the *Earth First! Journal*. It's about who we are as a movement, in fact it raises the question of whether such a cohesive beast exists. Those of you who have aimed your gripes at the *Journal* are blaming the messenger.



# GAIA BLESS

Gaia Bless

us each in our fleeting, mortal moment,  
our willingness to feel, our trying to make it real.

Gaia Bless

all the sensitive souls among our blighted human kind,  
bless those who reject the distractions of our age  
to hear the cries of the sacred Mother.

Gaia Bless

those that hear and respond to Her Call  
with struggle, even when struggle fails;  
with healing, even when our healing proves less than adequate  
to stem the flow of precious Gaian blood;  
and with prayer, even as we ache to understand her answers  
cast in evolutionary code, in the rustling of den-bound snakes  
and the shaking of Her winter storms.

Gaia Bless

the bards singing of hope to the same weary choir;  
the poets calling for the Gods for the Godless;  
the artists drawing for the blind.

Gaia Bless

the old folks who talk to weeds, and kids who ask too many questions.

Gaia Bless

the tribes and the tribeless;  
the happily married, those seeking and those contented alone;  
those who forgive but never forget;  
and all imperfect two-leggeds who serve the perfection of Nature.

Gaia Bless

those who oppose the bulldozers  
and those who instead plant flowers in the bulldozer's most recent tracks;  
the teachers and the hermits, the first and the last.

Gaia Bless those of our kind instilled with patience,  
unwilling to deny Her the thousands of years of painful change  
that is her timely rite of passage.

And Gaia Bless

the impatient among us as well,  
unwilling and unable to accept the reality of temporary defeats,  
risking drowning in the depths  
to assist even a little the height of her rising tides.

Gaia Bless

Her warriors, who give up their freedom, their families,  
their homes and their lives  
for something greater than our lonely, individual selves.

Gaia Bless

those bound to constant movement, winging through tornadoes,  
migrating through the years;  
including those too busy to stop and smell the earth.

And Gaia Bless

those remaining still enough through these storms of transition,  
who bond their flesh to dirt,  
who hear and record her instruction and song,  
who touch her earthen skin just the way She likes and tend her willow hair.

Gaia Bless

all those who try, succeed or fail;  
those who always act decisively, but never out of hatred;  
yes... those whose every living breath  
asserts their pledge of Love.

By our hearts and our acts may we be Worthy.

Gaia Bless. Gaia Bless.

—J. Wolf Hardin

# ARMED WITH

## VISIONS

Clear as cut glass  
& just as  
dangerous

## SACRIFICE

Fire rages

Northwest rain begins

Hearts ache and wail

Anger rises spirit flies

For an earth warrior

Gypsy

Has risen back

On the infinite wings of an eagle

With full heart he charged forth

To defend the ancient mountain of Grizzly Creek

A sanctuary of plant, creature, and spirit

Threatened by merciless greed

And disrespect for all life

Gypsy rose strong as a peaceful warrior

And this grand forest called him forth

To stand in their defense

And a tree was killed, sliced, sawed,

By a logger, by Pacific Lumber,

By Charles Hurwitz, by greed,

And that tree's weight

The heart's core, the years of growth rings,

The bark and wisdom Fell from the sky,

And bones of passion, bones of truth

Were offered back to the forest

Back to Mama Earth,

Her healing hands taking his broken body

Freeing his unbroken spirit

—Lichen

## WOMAN

Woman, you grasp the hand of Rattlesnake

You dance on the Peaks with nothing but a song and a heart

You are Grizzly-walking-upright

And like that old Ponderosa your roots are buried deep in this land.

Wildflowers grace your step and sage blesses your path

Sandstone cliffs laugh when your rusty skin becomes its own

Barrel Cactus plays for you a waltz

Wind is your bedfellow, moon your pillow, and sandstone buttes your dreams

And morning canyon walls breathe joy into your bones.

You are Lovers with rushing water and towering cliff

You sit chuckling for days with Coyote and with Raven

You play with moon shadow and Mountain Lion

You share secrets with Canyon Wren and Porcupine

You whisper the Wildness with Horned Lizard and Dragonfly.

You rage in blood red canyons and weep with this Land

You fight fiery hatred with a full heart

So when the last flickers of hope dance upon the canyon walls of your soul

Remember

Remember this Land Remember this place Remember me

And from singed hair and eyebrows pine needles and feathers will grow.

—Faith Walker

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Send poems to Warrior Poets Society, ASUC Box 361, Berkeley, CA 94720-4510



# Lots of Stuff is Going On.

## International Day of Action Against Bloodsports

March 1

Help put an end to bloodsports in your bioregion and show support for jailed hunt saboteurs in England by organizing a demonstration against animal killers on March 1. Whether directly sabbing a bloodsport or picketing a local pro-bloodsport company just get out there and do something. For more information and suggestions contact the Portsmouth Three Defense Campaign, POB 1119, Dorchester, Dorset, DT11ED, England.

## Land-Air-Water Conference March 4-7

The 17th annual Public Interest Environmental Law Conference in Eugene, OR will provide a forum for controversies from ecotage to Makah whaling rights. Over 100 panels will cover issues such as corporate dominance, indigenous rights, tactics, strategies and animal research. Speakers include Ramona Africa, David Brower and Dr. Helen Caldicott. John Trudell, Dana Lyons and Casey Neill will be performing. For more information write to LAW Conference at 1221 University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403; (541) 346-3828; <http://www.pielc.uoregon.edu>.



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## Ward Valley One-Year Anniversary

Celebrate the one-year anniversary of the victorious occupation that stopped the desecration of sacred land at Ward Valley. Join activists from around the world gathering to save sacred Indian land, the Colorado River and the desert tortoise from a nuclear waste dump.

Traditional ceremonies will be February 12-13 with strategy meetings, tours, hikes and workshops on Sunday and Monday.

Ward Valley is 22 miles west of Needles, CA. Take the Water Road exit off I-40. Please contact Save Ward Valley at 107 F street, Needles, CA 92363; (760) 326-6267.

## Cascadia Wildlands Project

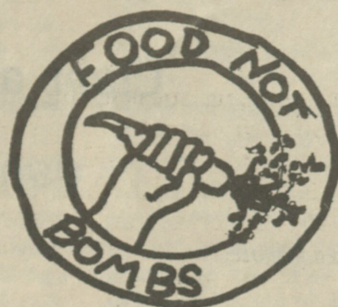
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and places of NW Oregon

We need your help desperately. After one year of operation and seventeen filed appeals, our equipment is delapidated, obsolete and dysfunctional. We need \$\$\$, a 4x4 vehicle, hi-8 video equipment, cameras, a computer and \$\$\$\$. Thanks. CWP, POB 10455, Eugene, OR 97440; [jdj@efn.org](mailto:jdj@efn.org); (541) 747-9116.

## 1999 SOLIDARITY FESTIVAL

### WEST COAST FOOD NOT BOMBS GATHERING

April 2-4, Ventura, CA



Come on out for art shows, workshops, local gigs and more. There will be free vegan food and camping nearby. Contact Food Not Bombs, POB 1563, Ventura, CA 93002.

## International Action Against Global Economy June 18

Let's get ready to rumble on June 18, 1999. When the eight richest countries that rule the world meet in Koln, Germany to forward the military march of global capitalism, we too will gather in resistance, liberating our desires in financial centers around the world.

Our struggle is more than sympathetic to other movements, it is interrelated. Global capitalism is the root of our social and ecological suf-

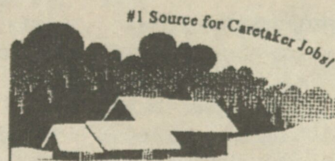
ferings, and global resistance is our strength. June 18 is a call for all groups to organize autonomous actions across the globe. Groups in the United Kingdom are planning to occupy and transform London. From mass actions to small affinity groups, everyone should get involved. Pick an issue. Pick a target. Plot an action. Contact [j18discussion@gn.apc.org](mailto:j18discussion@gn.apc.org) or write to June 18, POB 9656, London, N4 4JY, UK.

## CALL TO ACTION—MARCH 14

### International Day of Action Against Dams and for Rivers, Water and Life

This day of action was started by participants at the First International Meeting of People Affected by Dams in Curitiba, Brazil. At least 10,000 people demonstrated in 1998 by letter writing and cleaning of rivers. This year organizers are expecting over 100,000 participants. Show your support by organizing a demonstration. Contact the International Rivers Network at 1847 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94703; (510) 848-1155. To see what other groups have planned, check the website at [www.irn.org](http://www.irn.org).

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## Help Gypsy Mountain

Earth First! continues to maintain tree-sits and a defense of Gypsy Mountain, where David Gypsy Chain was killed by a Maxxam logging operation. Please bring contributions to the Used Bookstore in Redway or the Arcata Earth First! office at POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518. We need raingear, hiking boots, camping gear, food, chocolate, coffee, video equipment, cameras, videotape, a functioning vehicle, tarps, wool and polypropylene clothing, hat, flashlights and firewood.

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## MEDIA

### TCHKUNG!

RESISTANCE, SABOTAGE AND MUSIC, a two hour video documentary (NTSC) about the history of resistance to industrial capitalism, focusing on Earth First, the IWW (wobblies), and the Luddites. Features interviews with Judi Bari, Howard Zinn, loggers, wobblies, and many more. Compares cultures of resistance, their arts and music, and their tactics. Includes quite a bit of vintage footage, as well as current action footage from demonstrations.

\$15.00

TCHKUNG! vs. THE STATE, a one hour video documentary (NTSC), it follows the heartwarming relationship between an anarchist performance collective and their local police and fire depts. Exploding dumpsters, parades, riot cops, clowns, tall tales, and a lot of good show performance footage.

\$15.00

TCHKUNG! "POST WORLD HANDBOOK", a compact disk recording with propaganda booklet, it is full length and features such tracks "Clearcut-Spike" "Feral" "Truckstop", and more. Family Fun!

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#8 is in production and needs your radical thoughts, actions, art and suggestions. Please send stuff to LWD, POB 481, Tucson, AZ 85702.

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## 19th Annual Rivers Festival

February 19-21, Fort Mason Center in San Francisco, CA

Friends of the River, California's statewide river conservation organization, is hosting this event which combines the latest on conservation issues with the latest in outdoor recreation opportunities.

Centered around the theme of removing dams and protecting rivers, this year's events contain a number of conservation workshops featuring a range of environmental experts. Other special events include live and silent auctions, a sea kayak race and a gear swap.

Friends of the River is dedicated to preserving, protecting and restoring California's rivers and streams and their watersheds. For more information contact Greta Ossman, festival coordinator at (916) 442-3155 x205; ossman@friendsoftheriver.org.

## BIKE SUMMER 1999

San Francisco, CA

Come join activities designed to shift the balance of forces regarding transportation. Events including art shows, displays, and performances and will center around a July Critical Mass ride, the second anniversary of the huge "Willie Brown Weenie" ride. For info see the Bike Summer website at [www.sfbike.org/bikesummer](http://www.sfbike.org/bikesummer) or call (415) 431-2453



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The Mesa Refuge writers retreat is now accepting applications for its spring and summer sessions. The deadline is February 15.

The Mesa Refuge invites people to think and write about the edges between human activity and capitalism in particular and the natural world we are obliged to preserve. The Refuge offers full amenities.

We invite you to continue your writing on environmental and economic concerns at the Mesa Refuge this year. Please contact us at 1221 Preservation Park Way, Oakland, CA 94612; (510) 834-2995; [www.commoncounsel.org](http://www.commoncounsel.org) for details on the program.

A pamphlet on biotechnology now available:

## Genetic Engineering and The Threat to Life

As you read this, the world's food market is being flooded with genetically engineered organisms in a twisted and insufficiently researched experiment in which we are all guinea pigs. This technology crosses genes between unrelated species and breaks all previous biological boundaries (for example, geneticists have crossed tomatoes with deep sea fish genes to prevent them from freezing). This 16 page pamphlet covers many of the potentially catastrophic implications of biotechnology:

\$ risks to the earth and her creatures

\$ health and well-being of humans

\$ global dependence biotech corporations

\$ corporate censorship of public backlash

Bio-engineering can also be used for cloning, selecting genes that we pass onto our children, tampering with the genes that make us age, and any other way we decide to alter nature's beautiful designs...let's hear it for the brave new world!

Send us your name and address for a copy! Please include a stamp (or a donation), but we'll send one either way! Send to:



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# FILM:

## YARMINTS

BY WOODY BEARDSLY

They say that truth is stranger than fiction, and that adage is apparent in the work of documentary film producer Doug Hawes-Davis. It is also said that life imitates art, which imitates life—a strange hall of mirrors which came to mind when I saw Hawes-Davis' latest film. Maybe it was the anticipation of Halloween, or maybe it was the left-over buzz about the arson fires on the Vail ski hill, either way the scene at Colorado's Boulder Theater on October 28 was downright surreal.

More than 250 people gathered for the opening of the humorously touted "world premiere" of "Varmints," the latest of Hawes-Davis' films sponsored by the Missoula, Montana-based Ecology Center. The fifth in a series of hard-hitting environmental documentaries, "Varmints" is about the plight of the black-tailed prairie dog and the loss of its habitat, as well as the cattle industry's desire to extirpate the critter from the North American shortgrass prairie. As one reviewer commented, it is hard to tell who the real varmints are.

Like some character out of the television cartoon "King of the Hill," Mark Mason, a member of the Varmint Militia (a prairie dog shooting club) and one of the more glaring characters in the video, was in attendance with his wife and two kids. It was rumored he was wearing a flak jacket. To add to the mix, about half a dozen members of a group calling itself Rocky Mountain Animal Defense showed up to picket the screening. A Hunter Thompson air of fear and loathing hung in the theater as the lights dimmed and the projector started.

"Varmints" is Hawes-Davis' first feature-length project, and though it feels every bit of 90 minutes, the

video is a needed relief from the sugar-coated pabulum one sees on National Geographic, the Discovery Channel and other such venues. Hawes-Davis has a unique ability to capture the strange paradoxes surrounding controversial issues: the anger, the ignorance, the passion and the duplicity. He is a master of the ironic.

His technique is to go out and talk to everybody and anybody possibly involved in the issue and get them to tell their version of the story to the camera. In the process he covers a lot of ground, meets a wide variety of people and uncovers some truths a viewer might otherwise wish were fiction. With no subtitles or names of individuals given during interviews there is little more than the occasional badge or uniform to give viewers a sense of who is who. There is only what they say and do.

Footage of prairie dogs exploding from Varmint Militia high-velocity bullets, a rockin' soundtrack by Nedd Mudd, the Incontinentals and Aaron Parrett and old black and white newsreel footage of early government-sponsored poisoning campaigns keeps this documentary from becoming your typical talking-head video. There is a great deal of information revealed about the biology and ecology of prairie dogs and the prairie ecosystem of which they are a crucial part. The video serves as needed balance to

decades of misinformation perpetuated by cattle growers and their advocates in federal and state agencies. More might have been shown of the impact suburban sprawl has had on the prairie dog. Given the millions of acres of wildlife habitat lost to development every year, it should weigh in as part of the picture. But overall it's a top-rate production.

Having previously viewed the film, I was amazed an animal rights group would protest the premiere. They were worried the video promoted the shooting of prairie dogs and were handing out a pamphlet called the "official viewers guide" to the film. Despite the fact that Hawes-Davis never authorized their official guide, the pamphlet had lots of good information about prairie dogs, much of the same covered in the film. When the activists were asked why they were protesting a pro-prairie dog premiere, they could only shyly admit they had not yet seen it. Go figure.

There was a question and answer period following the showing. It started in orderly fashion but very quickly erupted into a series of cat calls and angry epithets thrown at Mark Mason, the Varmint Militia member. When given a chance to respond, Mason hurriedly replied, "Well, it will at least make people think." And then he very calmly but very purposefully gathered his family and walked out of the theater.

Out on the street, side-stepping angry college-age women who were all but spitting anger at Mason, I tried to keep up with him on the way to his car. I asked Mason if the video would change his view of or behavior towards prairie dogs. He laughed at me and said, "Sure. I'll probably load a heavier grained bullet." Like I said, go figure.

Produced with assistance from the Fund For Animals, the Humane Society of the United States and the Predator Project, the video features the camera work of Drury Gunn Carr and debuts the production talents of grassroots activist Jennifer Ferenstein. "Varmints" typifies the issue-driven collaborative style of the Ecology Center and Hawes-Davis' work.

For information on his other videos or to get a copy of "Varmints" contact High Plains Films, POB 8796, Missoula, MT 59807; (406) 543-6726. VHS copies \$30 postpaid. Other films by the Ecology Center: "The Element of Doom," 1992, 32 minutes (lead mining in the Ozarks); "Green Rolling Hills," 1995, 29 minutes (pulp mills invade Appalachia); "Mining Seven-Up Pete," 1996, 31 minutes (cyanide mining in Montana); "Southbound," 1996, 48 minutes (chip mills in the Southeast); "The Paper Colony," 1996, 27 minutes (corporate forestry in Maine).

Photo courtesy of High Plains Films



## REVIEWS

# BOOK: In Timber Country

BY JAY LININGER

The struggle to save the forest must embrace the social and economic concerns of working people.

That is one message of Beverly A. Brown's book, *In Timber Country*.

Brown interviews poor and working class residents of Southern Oregon's Rogue Valley to "explore [their] opinions about changing local conditions that differ significantly" from official accounts. The interviews largely confront the question of who will control the region's waterways and forests. This is, then, a book about land and power.

An important theme throughout is the class differences between workers and managers in the timber industry. "All the millworkers is (sic) one kind of a community, as far as their survival techniques," says Rhonda Marshall. "Then you have managerial people—their survival techniques would be totally different."

To Chuck Carter, management survives by shipping local jobs overseas: "I'll tell you what's costing more people work in the sawmills... is them boatloads of timber going to Portland,

Coos Bay, headed right straight for Japan... And while you're watching this spotted owl, they're floating them logs out of here by the boatload."

Despite the resentment that most workers feel toward the industry, they generally feel powerless to change anything. Many factors compound the workers' disempowerment and contribute to a declining quality of life, including: the predominance of low-wage service jobs outside the timber industry; a general lack of opportunities for worker education or retraining; gentrification and population growth caused by the in-migration of wealthy urbanites; diminishing access to public land; rising drug production, particularly in methamphetamines, which escalates local crime rates and the demand for police and jails; and rampant domestic violence.

Brown argues that public demonstrations in support of the timber industry must be understood in this context. Events like the Silver Fire Roundup, in which thousands of people jammed the Josephine County Fairgrounds to rally in support of salvage logging in the North Kalmiopsis Roadless Area, have been mischaracterized as blind shows of worker support for the timber indus-

try. However, Brown sees them as "less of a rubber-stamp endorsement of the timber industry than a celebration of solidarity among people who identify themselves with their rural and small-town communities" in the face of an uncertain future. If anything, workers support the timber industry because it is the only faction in the timber wars that pretends to speak in their interests.

But only independently organized unions can speak for the real interests of workers. Without strong unions, the industry poses as the champion of the working class against hostile environmentalists and government officials who try to "lock up the land."

Workers hate to see watersheds trashed by clearcuts, and most of those interviewed support protecting the forest. By and large, however, job security and personal survival are two core working class concerns that are not accounted for by environmental rhetoric and protest tactics. Loggers who have encountered Earth First! activists in the woods say that confrontations occur because activists frequently commit the blunder of discounting workers' interests, or worse, telling them that the way they live is wrong. As a result, Earth Firsters are perceived as distant, faceless an-

tagonists who are out to destroy the economy at the expense of people's livelihoods.

Brown concludes the book by interviewing a local environmental activist who says that being right doesn't give greens the excuse to be righteous. "Until we put together a cogent strategy that addresses the bottom-line issues of fear and ignorance that underlie [forest] issues, we're not going to make any real changes," he says. "The fact that lots of people stand to be out of work, and are terrified at that prospect, can't be denied."

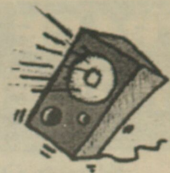
*In Timber Country* covers themes of environmental crisis, corporate dominance and social justice. It shows how these issues fit the scope of the environmental justice movement, wherein the concept of "environment" describes where people live, work and play. In southwest Oregon, environmental justice can provide the basis for a new language of needs and political demands for low-income and blue-collar working people that is independent of self-interested politicians and profit-hungry corporations. Ultimately, it can help to expose many fundamental interests, like healthy watersheds, equality and democracy, that workers and environmentalists share in common.

*In Timber Country* is available for \$20 from Temple University Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19122; (215) 204-8787.





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Springfield, TN 37172  
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(512) 937-6019  
East Texas EF!  
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Lusus Naturae Environmental  
Collective  
1421 Longhorn, Houston, TX 77080  
lususnaturae71@hotmail.com

## UTAH

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Wild Wasatch Front  
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VERMONT  
Biodiversity Liberation Front  
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Save the Corporations  
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(540) 885-6983  
PAW Southwest Virginia  
POB 13192, Roanoke, VA 24031-3192  
(540) 982-0492  
WASHINGTON  
Seattle EF!  
POB 85541, Seattle, WA 98145  
ph/fax (206) 632-1656; Sea-ef@scn.org  
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(304) 754-9161  
WISCONSIN  
Midwest Headwaters Action  
Midwest Headwaters Journal  
731 State St, Madison, WI 53711  
(608) 255-8765;  
www.geocities.com/rainforest/4101-  
North Forests EF!  
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(920) 424-0265  
Bay Area North Guard  
POB 116, Washburn, WI 54891  
(715) 373-0882

## PROJECTS & CAMPAIGNS

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(406) 728-0867; cmcr@wildrockies.org  
www.wildrockies.com/cmcr  
Direct Action Fund  
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(925) 376-7329; fax 631-7958  
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(541) 468-2028

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noreastah@acadia.net  
Sea Defense Alliance  
POB 400, Williams, OR 97544  
sedna@cdsnet.net  
Warrior Poets Society  
ASUC Box 361, Berkeley, CA 94720-4510  
Zero Extraction on Public Lands  
EF!, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440  
earthfirst@igc.org

## International EF! Directory

### Check out the international

### Earth First! web page at:

www.k2net.co.uk/ef

### AUSTRALIA

Rainforest Information Centre  
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(066) 21 85 05  
Australian EF! Action Update  
ef\_au@hotmail.com  
www.green.net.au/ozef\_update/  
EF! Australia Community  
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di695@freenet.carleton.ca  
EF! Montreal, Diffusion Noire  
c/o Librairie Alternative  
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zemepredevsim@czn.cz

### EIRE

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Abbey St., Ballinrobe, County Mayo  
Limerick Talamh Glas  
41 Glasgow Park, Limerick  
00 353 61 313308

### ENGLAND

Over 35 EF! groups exist in England;  
for a list, contact:  
EF! Action Update/Cornerstone  
Resource Centre  
16 Sholebroke Ave., Chapeltown  
Leeds, LS7 3HB; 0113 262 9365  
actionupdate@gn.apc.org  
www.k2net.co.uk/ef/earthfirst.html

### OXFORD EF!

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Oxford, OX4 1RQ, (01865) 791391  
South Downs EF!, Dead Trees EF!  
and Do or Die  
POB 2971, Brighton BN2 2GY  
savage@easynet.co.uk

### FRANCE

Carbusters/Resource Ctr  
44 rue Burdeau  
69001 Lyon; (33) 4 72 00 23 57  
carbusters@wanadoo.fr

### GERMANY

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Friedrich-Ebert Str 24, 45127 Essen

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Bihar, Post Box 229

### SOUTH KOREA

Green Korea Unlimited  
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Seoul 110-350

### THE NETHERLANDS

Groene Front!  
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### PHILIPPINES

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Pasay Rd., Makati, Metro Manila  
(2) 816-0986, 851-110, 818-3207  
Volunteers for Earth Defense  
189 San Antonio Ext. SFDM  
1105 Quezon City

### POLAND

Workshop for All Beings  
ul. Modrzewskiego 29/3, 43-300  
Bielsko, Biala; ph/fax 048-33-183153

### RUSSIA

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(8312) 34-32-80  
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00 353 61 313308

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Earth Action!  
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rk@cci.glasnet.ru

## PRISONER SUPPORT

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POB 57357 Tucson, AZ 85732-7357  
(520) 795-5171  
National Activist Network  
POB 19515, Sacramento, CA 95819  
(916) 452-7197  
Rod Coronado  
03895-000, FCI Unit SW  
8901 S. Wilmot Rd.  
Tucson, AZ 85706

North American ALF Support Group  
Box 69597, 5845 Yonge St,  
Willowdale, Ont M2M 4K3  
Canada

For our full prisoners' directory,  
see our web page at  
www.enviroweb/ef/support or  
write us at the Journal

731 State St, Madison, WI 53711  
(608) 255-8765;  
www.geocities.com/rainforest/4101-  
North Forests EF!  
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(920) 424-0265  
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POB 116, Washburn, WI 54891  
(715) 373-0882

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